

Washington's  

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MONUMENTS OF PATRIOTISM.  
  
BEING A  
COLLECTION  
  
OF THE MOST  
INTERESTING DOCUMENTS,  
  
CONNECTED WITH THE  
MILITARY COMMAND  
  
AND  
CIVIL ADMINISTRATION  
  
OF THE  
American  
HERO AND PATRIOT.

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TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,  
AN EULOGIUM ON THE CHARACTER OF GENERAL  
WASHINGTON, BY MAJOR WILLIAM JACKSON.

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*Philadelphia:*

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TO THE PEOPLE  
OF THE  
*UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*

AS the natural Guardians of HIS fame, whose life was one unceasing effort in the service of his country, and as the endeared objects of his patriotic solicitude, I offer to your patronage the following collection of the most important public papers from the pen of the immortal WASHINGTON.

This volume will be found to comprise interesting documents, connected with the military command and civil administration of the AMERICAN HERO AND PATRIOT. And as it has been compiled under the advice of Gentlemen distinguished by their talents and public services, it may be relied on as a judicious and accurate selection.



The chronological order of the papers, except in a few instances, has been carefully observed in the compilation.

To attempt a recommendation of that, "which is above all praise," would be presumption in the extreme. To the Gentleman, the Scholar, the Soldier, and the Statesman, this collection will be peculiarly acceptable, and by every American, who delights in the honor and happiness of his country, the injunctions contained in these invaluable papers will be regarded as the sacred admonitions of "an affectionate Father to a beloved Family."

That they may long, very long contribute to promote the prosperity, peace and safety of the American People, is the sincere wish of their affectionate friend and fellow-citizen.

J. O.

# C O N T E N T S.

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	Page
<b>R</b> ESOLUTION of Congress to appoint a General, to command all the American forces, and establishing his pay,	9
Unanimous choice of George Washington, Esq.	10
President's information to General Washington of his election,	10
General Washington's answer,	10
Committee appointed to draught a Commission and instructions for the General,	11
General Washington's Commission,	12
Extracts from General Washington's letters respecting the evacuation of Boston,	15
Resolution of thanks, by Congress, to General Washington and the officers and soldiers under his command,	23
The General's communication to Congress, respecting his refusal of a letter from Lord Howe, improperly addressed,	24
Congress approve of his conduct on the occasion,	26
General orders to the Army,	27
The General's Address to the Officers of the Army, concerning certain anonymous papers circulated through the camp to excite a revolt,	28
Proceedings of the Officers of the army, respecting the anonymous papers	36
General Washington's circular letter to the Governors of the several States,	40
Orders issued to the Army on the cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain,	62
Resolution passed by Congress in honor of Gen. Washington,	67
Congratulatory address of the President of Congress to Gen. Washington on the successful termination of the War.	69



	Page
<i>The General's reply,</i>	70
<i>Farewell Orders to the Armies of the United States,</i>	72
<i>Answer of the Officers of the Army,</i>	81
<i>General Washington's address to the President of Congress and resignation of his military commission,</i>	233
<i>The President's reply,</i>	235
<i>President Washington's First Speech to Congress under the Federal Constitution,</i>	86
<i>Answer of the Senate,</i>	96
<i>The President's reply,</i>	100
<i>Answer of the House of Representatives,</i>	102
<i>The President's reply,</i>	105
<i>President's Speech at the opening of the Second Session,</i>	106
<i>Answer of the Senate,</i>	113
<i>Reply,</i>	117
<i>Answer of the House of Representatives,</i>	118
<i>Reply,</i>	122
<i>President's Speech at the opening of the Third Session,</i>	123
<i>Answer of the Senate,</i>	131
<i>Reply,</i>	134
<i>Answer of the House of Representatives,</i>	135
<i>Reply,</i>	140
<i>President's Speech at the opening of the Second Congress, First Session,</i>	141
<i>Answer of the Senate,</i>	155
<i>Reply,</i>	157
<i>Answer of the House of Representatives,</i>	158
<i>Reply,</i>	161
<i>President's Speech at the opening of the Second Session,</i>	162
<i>Answer of the Senate,</i>	174
<i>Reply,</i>	177
<i>Answer of the House of Representatives,</i>	178
<i>Reply,</i>	182
<i>President's Speech at the opening of the Third Congress, First Session,</i>	184
<i>Answer of the Senate,</i>	195
<i>Reply,</i>	197
<i>Answer of the House of Representatives,</i>	198
<i>Reply</i>	202

	Page
<i>President's Speech at the opening of the Second Session,</i>	204
<i>answer of the Senate,</i>	220
<i>Reply,</i>	223
<i>Answer of the House of Representatives,</i>	225
<i>Reply,</i>	230
<i>President's Speech at the opening of the Fourth Congress,</i>	
<i>First Session,</i>	232
<i>Answer of the Senate,</i>	244
<i>Reply,</i>	247
<i>Answer of the House of Representatives,</i>	248
<i>Reply,</i>	251
<i>The President's Address to the People of the United States,</i>	258
<i>Message to the House of Representatives, negating an Act</i>	
<i>for the apportionment of Representatives,</i>	292
<i>Message to Congress relative to France and G. Britain,</i>	294
<i>Message to the Senate, nominating Mr. Jay, Envoy Extra-</i>	
<i>ordinary of the United States, to his Britannic Majesty</i>	299
<i>Message to both Houses of Congress respecting the territo-</i>	
<i>ries of Spain,</i>	301
<i>Message to the House of Representatives, in consequence of</i>	
<i>their requesting the papers, relative to the British treaty</i>	303
<i>Message to Congress, relative to the French Republic,</i>	310
<i>Message to the House of Representatives, negating the Act</i>	
<i>for disbanding the Army,</i>	312
<i>Proclamation of Neutrality,</i>	315
<i>Proclamation concerning the Western Insurrection,</i>	317
<i>Second Proclamation concerning ditto</i>	324
<i>Proclamation recommending a day of Public Thanksgiving</i>	
<i>and Prayer,</i>	328
<i>Letter to the Secretary of State, declaring certain letters as-</i>	
<i>cribed to General Washington, to be forgeries,</i>	331
<i>General Washington's letter on accepting the command of the</i>	
<i>American Army, in 1798, to the President of the Uni-</i>	
<i>ted States,</i>	335
<i>Eulogium on the Character of General Washington, by Ma-</i>	
<i>yor William Jackson.</i>	341







WASHINGTON's  
MONUMENTS OF PATRIOTISM.

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In Congress,

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 15, 1775.

*RESOLVED*, That a General be appointed to command all the continental forces, raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty.

That five hundred dollars, per month, be allowed for the pay and expenses of the General.

B



The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General, by ballot, and George Washington, Esq. was unanimously elected.

The President informed Colonel Washington that the Congress had unanimously made choice of him to be General and commander in chief of the American forces, and requested he would accept of that employment; to which Colonel Washington, standing in his place, answered :

“ *Mr. President,*

“ Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me, in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust : However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“ But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in the

room, that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

“ As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.”

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draught a commission and instructions for the General.

The persons chosen, to compose the committee, were Mr. Lee, Mr. E. Rutledge, and Mr. J. Adams.

The committee appointed to draught a commission to the General, reported the same, which, being read by paragraphs and debated, was agreed to as follows :



## In Congress,

*The Delegates of the United Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina :*

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq.

WE, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be General and Commander in Chief, of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised, by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof: And you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers, under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

And we do also enjoin and require you, to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised, and provided with all convenient necessaries.

And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war, (as herewith given you,) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this, or a future Congress of these United Colonies, or committee of Congress.

This commission to continue in force, until revoked by this, or a future Congress.

*Ordered,* That the same be fairly transcribed, signed by the President, attested by the Secretary, and delivered to the General.



*Resolved unanimously,* Whereas, the Delegates of all the Colonies, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, in Congress assembled, have unanimously chosen George Washington, Esq. to be General and Commander in Chief, of such forces as are, or shall be, raised for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty; this Congress doth now declare, that they will maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, the said George Washington, with their lives and fortunes in the same cause.

*Extracts from GENERAL WASHINGTON's  
letters to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS, re-  
specting the evacuation of Boston by the British  
forces, dated*

*Head-Quarters, Cambridge,  
March, 19, 1776.*

S I R,

IT is with the greatest pleasure I inform you, that, on Sunday last, the seventeenth instant, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, the ministerial army evacuated the town of Boston, and that the forces of the United Colonies are now in actual possession thereof. I beg leave to congratulate you, Sir, and the honourable Congress, on this happy event, and particularly as it was effected without endangering the lives and property of the remaining unhappy inhabitants.

I have great reason to imagine their flight was precipitated, by the appearance of a work which I had ordered to be thrown up, last Satur-



day night on an eminence at Dorchester which lay nearer to Boston neck, called Nuke-hill.

The town, although it has suffered greatly, is not in so bad a state as I expected to find it.

As soon as the ministerial troops had quitted the town, I ordered a thousand men, under the command of General Putnam, to take possession of the heights, which I shall endeavour to fortify in such a manner as to prevent their return, should they attempt it.— But, as they are still in the harbour, I thought it not prudent to march off with the main body of the army until I should be fully satisfied they had quitted the coast. I have therefore only detached five regiments, besides the rifle battalion, to New-York, and shall keep the remainder here till all suspicion of their return ceases.

The situation in which I found their works evidently discovered that their retreat was made with the greatest precipitation. They have left their barracks and other works of wood at Bunker's-hill, &c. all standing, and have destroyed but a small part of their lines. They have also left a number of fine pieces of cannon,

which they first spiked up, also a very large iron mortar; and, as I am informed, they have thrown another over the end of the wharf. I have employed proper persons to drill the cannon, and doubt not I shall save the most of them. —I am not yet able to procure an exact list of all the stores they have left. As soon as it can be done, I shall take care to transmit it to you. —From an estimate of what the Quarter-Master-General has already discovered, the amount will be twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds.

Part of the powder mentioned in yours of the sixth instant has already arrived. The remainder I have ordered to be stopped on the road, as we shall have no occasion for it here. The letter to General Thomas, I immediately sent to him. He desired leave for three or four days, to settle some of his private affairs; after which, he will set out for his command in Canada. I am happy that my conduct in intercepting Lord Drummond's letter is approved of by Congress.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.



*Cambridge, March 24, 1776.*

S I R,

WHEN I had the honour to address you on the 19th instant upon the evacuation of the town of Boston by the ministerial army, I fully expected, as their retreat and embarkation were hurried and precipitate, that, before now, they would have departed the harbour, and been far in their passage to the place of destination. But, to my surprise and disappointment, the fleet is still in Nantasket-road. The purpose inducing their stay is altogether unknown; nor can I suggest any satisfactory reason for it. On Wednesday night last, before the whole of the fleet fell down the Nantasket, they demolished the castle and houses belonging to it, by burning them down, and the several fortifications. They left a great number of cannon, but have rendered all of them, except a very few, entirely useless, by breaking off the trunnions; and those they spiked up: But they may be made serviceable again:—Some are already done.

There are several vessels in the docks, which were taken by the enemy (some with and others without cargoes,) which different persons claim as their property and right. Are they to be restored to their former owners on making proof of their title, or to belong to the continent, as captures made from the enemy?—I wish Congress would direct a mode of proceeding against them, and establish a rule for decision: They appear to me to be highly necessary. In like manner, some of the cannon which are in Boston are said to have come from the castle. Supposing them, with those remaining at the castle, to have been purchased by and provided originally at the expense of this province,—are they now to be considered as belonging to it, or to the public? I beg leave to refer the matter to the opinion of Congress, and pray their direction how I am to conduct respecting them.

It having been suggested to me that there was considerable property, &c. belonging to persons who had, from the first of the present unhappy contest, manifested an unfriendly and inveterate disposition, in the town of Boston, I thought it prudent to write to the honourable



General Court upon the subject, that it might be enquired after and secured. A copy of the letter I herewith send you, and submit it to Congress, through you, whether they will not determine how it is to be disposed of, and as to the appropriation of the money arising from the sale of the same.

As soon as the town was abandoned by the enemy, I judged it adviseable to secure the several heights, lest they should attempt to return; and, for this purpose, have caused a large and strong work to be thrown up on Fort-hill, a post of great importance, as it commands the whole harbour, and, when fortified, if properly supported, will greatly annoy any fleet the enemy may send against the town, and render the landing of their troops exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable. This work is almost done, and in a little time will be complete: And, that the communication between the town and country may be free and open, I have ordered all the lines upon the neck to be immediately destroyed, and the other works on the sides of the town facing the country, that the inhabitants from the latter may not be impeded, and afforded an easy entrance, in case the enemy should

gain possession at any future time. These matters I conceived to be within the line of my duty; of which I advised the General Court, and recommended to their attention such other measures as they might think necessary for securing the town against the hostile designs of the enemy.

• I have just gotten an inventory of stores and property belonging to the crown, which the enemy left in Boston, at the castle and Bunker's-hill, which I have the honour to transmit you; and shall give strict orders that a careful attention be had to any more that may be found. I shall take such precautions respecting them, that they may be secured, and turn to the public advantage, as much as possible, or circumstances will admit of.

A Mr. Bulfinch from Boston, who acted as clerk to Mr. \* \* \*, having put into my hands a list of rations drawn the Saturday before the troops evacuated the town, I have inclosed it for your inspection. He says, neither the staff officers nor women are included in the list; from which it appears that their number is greater than we had an idea of.



There have been so many accounts from England, all agreeing that commissioners are coming to America, to propose terms for an accommodation, as they say—that I am inclined to think the time of their arrival not very far off. If they come to Boston, (which probably will be the case if they come to America at all) I shall be under much embarrassment respecting the manner of receiving them, and the mode of treatment that ought to be used. I therefore pray that Congress will give me directions, and point out the line of conduct to be pursued—whether they are to be considered as ambassadors, and to have a pass or permit for repairing through the country to Philadelphia or to any other place—or whether they are to be restrained in any and what manner. I shall anxiously wait their orders, and, whatever they are, comply with them literally.

I have the honor to be, &c.

G. WASHINGTON

*Resolved,* That the thanks of this Congress, in their own name, and in the name of the thirteen United Colonies, whom they represent, be presented to his excellency Gen. Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston; and that a medal of gold be struck in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his excellency; and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a letter of thanks, and a proper device for the medal.



*The GENERAL's communication to CONGRESS, respecting his refusal of a letter from LORD HOWE, improperly addressed—CONGRESS highly approve of his conduct on the occasion.*

*New-York, July 14, 1776.*

ABOUT three o'clock this morning I was informed that a flag from lord Howe was coming up, and waited with two of our whale-boats, until directions should be given. I immediately convened such of the general officers as were not upon other duty, who agreed in opinion that I ought not to receive any letter directed to me as a private gentleman: But if otherwise, and the officer desired to come up to deliver the letter himself, as was suggested, he should come under a safe-conduct. Upon this, I directed colonel Reed to go down and manage the affair, under the above general instruction.

On his return, he informed me, that, after the common civilities, the officer acquainted him that he had a letter from lord Howe to Mr. Washington, which he shewed under a superscription, "*To George Washington, esquire.*" Colonel Reed replied there was no such person

in the army, and that a letter intended for the general could not be received under such a direction. The officer expressed great concern—said it was a letter rather of a civil than military nature—that lord Howe regretted he had not arrived sooner—that he (lord Howe) had great powers. The anxiety to have the letter received was very evident, though the officer disclaimed all knowledge of its contents. However, colonel Reed's instructions being positive, they parted. After they had got some distance, the officer with the flag again put about, and asked under what direction Mr. Washington chose to be addressed:—to which colonel Reed answered, his station was well known, and that certainly they could be at no loss how to direct to him. The officer said they knew it and lamented it; and again repeated his wish that the letter could be received. Colonel Reed told him a proper direction would obviate all difficulties, and that this was no new matter—this subject having been fully discussed in the course of the last year; of which lord Howe could not be ignorant:—upon which they parted.

I would not upon any occasion sacrifice essentials to punctilio; but in this instance, the



opinion of others concurring with my own, I deemed it a duty to my country and my appointment, to insist upon that respect, which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waved. Nor do I doubt, but, from the supposed nature of the message, and the anxiety expressed, they will either repeat their flag, or fall upon some mode to communicate the import and [contents] of it.

*Resolved,* That General Washington, in refusing to receive a letter said to be sent from lord Howe, addressed to "George Washington, Esq." acted with a dignity becoming his station; and, therefore, this Congress do highly approve the same; and do direct, that no letter or message be received, on any occasion whatsoever, from the enemy, by the Commander in Chief, or others, the commanders of the American army, but such as shall be directed to them in the characters they respectively sustain.

### General Orders.

*Head-Quarters, Newburgh,  
Tuesday, March 11, 1783.*

THE Commander in Chief, having heard that a general meeting of the officers of the army was proposed to be held this day at the new building, in an anonymous paper which was circulated yesterday by some unknown person, conceives, although he is fully persuaded that the good sense of the officers would induce them to pay very little attention to such an irregular invitation, his duty, as well as the reputation and true interest of the army, requires his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings. At the same time he requests the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, will assemble at twelve o'clock on Saturday next, at the new building, to hear the report of the committee of the army to



Congress. After mature deliberation, they will devise what further measures ought to be adopted as most rational and best calculated to attain the just and important object in view. The senior officer in rank, present, will be pleased to preside, and report the result of the deliberations to the commander in chief.

*Cantonment, 15th March, 1783.*

THE officers of the army being convened agreeably to a general order of the 11th instant, the honourable Major General Gates, President, His Excellency the Commander in Chief was pleased to address the meeting as follows :

GENTLEMEN,

BY an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide.

In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen ; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for, as men see through different optics, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance, or, in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candor and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice and love of country, have no part : and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest designs. That the address is drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes ; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief ; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he



may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberative thinking; and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding.

Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honour, and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore has not evinced to you, that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your

merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it, it can scarcely be supposed, at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. "If war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself."—But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms and other property which we leave behind us? or, in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first, (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold and nakedness? "If peace takes place, never sheath your swords," says he, "until you have obtained full and ample justice." This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity re-



volts at the idea. My God; what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe? Some emissary perhaps, from New-York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? and what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures in either alternative, impracticable in their nature? But, here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production;—but the manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observation on the tendency of that writing.

With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderate measures and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man who regards that liberty and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and, dumb and silent, we may be led, like sheep, to the slaughter. I cannot, in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that, that honorable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice: That their endeavours to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt.

But, like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why then should



we distrust them? And in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer? No, most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity and justice, a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me, a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honour to command, will oblige me to declare, in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

While I give you these assurances, and

pledge myself, in the most unequivocal manner, to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity, and fully the glory you have hitherto maintained.—Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress; that, previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all our accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country; and who wickedly attempts to open the flood gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.



By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings: And you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind—"had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

His excellency having withdrawn, on motion by General Knox, seconded by General Putnam,

*Resolved,* That the unanimous thanks of the officers of the army be presented to his excellency the Commander in Chief, for his excellent address, and the communication he has been pleased to make them; and that he be assured that the officers reciprocate his affectionate expressions, with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable.

The address from the army to Congress—  
the report of the committee from the army—  
and the resolutions of Congress of 25th January,  
being read,

On a motion by general Putnam, seconded  
by general Hand.

*Voted*, That a committee be appointed immediately to draw up some resolutions expressive of the business before us, and to report in half an hour; that this committee consist of one general officer, one field officer, and one captain; and that general Knox, colonel Brooks and captain Howard, compose the said committee.

The report of the committee being brought in, and fully considered,

*Resolved unanimously*, That, at the commencement of the present war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature, which motives still exist in the highest degree; and that no circumstances of distress or danger shall induce a conduct that may tend to fully



the reputation and glory which they have acquired, at the price of their blood and eight years faithful services.

*Resolved unanimously,* That the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country, and are fully convinced that the representatives of America will not disband or disperse the army until their accounts are liquidated, the balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for payment, and, in this arrangement, the officers expect that the half pay, or a commutation of it, should be efficaciously comprehended.

*Resolved unanimously,* That his excellency the Commander in Chief be requested to write to his excellency the President of Congress, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of that honourable body, upon the subjects of our late address, which was forwarded by a committee of the army, some of whom are waiting upon Congress for the result. In the alternative of peace or war, this event would be highly satisfactory, and produce immediate tranquility in the minds of the army, and prevent any further machinations of designing men, to sow discord

between the civil and military powers of the United States.

On motion,

*Resolved unanimously,* That the officers of the American army, view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent, with indignation, the secret attempts of some unknown persons to collect the officers together, in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order.

*Resolved unanimously,* That the thanks of the officers of the army be given to the committee who presented to Congress the late address of the army, for the wisdom and prudence with which they have conducted that business; and that a copy of the proceedings of this day be transmitted by the President to Major General M'Dougall; and that he be requested to continue his solicitations at Congress, until the objects of his mission are accomplished.

The meeting was then dissolved.

HORATIO GATES, *Maj. Gen.*

*President.*



### Circular Letter

*From his Excellency* GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
COMMANDER IN CHIEF of the ARMIES of the  
UNITED STATES of AMERICA to the GO-  
VERNORS of the several STATES.

*Head-Quarters, Newburg,*

*June, 18, 1783.*

S I R,

THE great object for which I had the honour to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose: But, before I carry this resolution into

effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquility of the United States, to take my leave of your Excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights; and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual solicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing: This is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contempla-



tion be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: Here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than the recollection of the happy con-

junction of times and circumstances, under which our Republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: Researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent: The treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government: The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our situation, and such are our prof-



pects ; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us—notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own ; yet it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation ; this is the moment, when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them ; this is the time to establish or ruin their national character forever ; this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the Federal Government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution ; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the Confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall ; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse ; a blessing or a curse, not to the

present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments, may perhaps remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives—the part I have hitherto acted in life—the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter—the ardent desire I feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government,—will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this Address.

There are four things which I humbly con-



ceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

1st. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

2dly. A sacred regard to public justice.

3dly. The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the

bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

On the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

Under the first head, althought it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the Union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the States to delegate a large proportion of power to Congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions: That unless the States will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion.—That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual States, that there should be lodged, somewhere, a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the



Union cannot be of long duration.—That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every State with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue.—That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.—And lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the States to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the Union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two,

which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on the dissolution of the Union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, Congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the States are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion, no real friend to the honour and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honourable measures proposed. If their argu-



ments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised ; and that, if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place, before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted ; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the States.

The ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting ; the path of our duty is plain before us ; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be just ; let us fulfil the public contracts which Congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the cheerful performance of

their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours; every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if at the expense of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain indebted for the defence of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and of gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the



public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down, upon the authors of such measures, the aggravated vengeance of Heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the States; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the Union; if there should be a refusal to comply with the requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed—Congress, who have in all their transactions shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! And that State alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious councils, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of having acted while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real inte-

rests of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not willing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by Congress to the officers of the army: From these communications, my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons, which induced me at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of Congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which I am informed, has



in some instances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded forever : That provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed : It was the only means to prevent a total derilection of the service ; it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency ; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honour ; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

With regard to the distinction between officers and foldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards, in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the foldiers have perhaps generally had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed com-

mutation ; in others, if besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of cloathing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate, the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a further reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause : But neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will, in any manner affect, much less militate against the act of Congress, by which they have offered five years full pay in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of



veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of Congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessities of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your State, to the warmest patronage of your Excellency and your Legislature.

It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will

be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the Union upon a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I should beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility: It is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expence, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of the Address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology: It is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding ob-



servations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention; consonant to the immutable rules of justice; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular States: That the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress in some of the States, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of

those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expences of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of an army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering than that which I have had the honour to command. But while I mention those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our Federal Constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual states, on many interesting occasions.

I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me: The task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the Chief Magistrate of your State; at the same time I bid a last fare-



well to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the State over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the divine Author

of our blessed religion; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honor to be,

With much esteem and respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.



**Orders,**

*Issued by GENERAL WASHINGTON, to the  
ARMY.*

*Head-Quarters, April 18, 1783.*

**T**HE Commander in Chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the King of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve o'clock, at the new building: and that the proclamation which will be communicated herewith be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which the chaplains, with the several brigades will render thanks to the Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his over-ruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.

Although the proclamation before alluded to extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace,

yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest, stops the effusion of human blood, opens the prospect to a more splendid scene, and, like another morning star, promises the approach of brighter day than hath hitherto illuminated the Western hemisphere. On such a happy day, which is the harbinger of peace, a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice; it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

The Commander in chief, far from endeavouring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion to all the officers of every denomination; to all the troops of the United States in general; and in particular to those gallant and persevering men who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country, so long as the war should continue. For these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army; and who crowned with well earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil walks of civil life. While the Commander in



Chief recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have past, with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude; while he contemplates the prospects before us with rapture, he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution; of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act, under the smiles of Providence, on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy! shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous FABRICK OF FREEDOM AND EMPIRE on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and established an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.—The glorious task for which we first flew to arms being accomplished—The liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured by the smiles of Heaven on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people, determined to be free, against

a powerful nation, disposed to oppress them; and the character of those who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *patriot army*; nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect unvarying consistency of character through the very last act, to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men which have crowned all their former virtuous actions. For this purpose no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated.— Every considerate and well disposed soldier must remember it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience until peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c. As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the General is confident, there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honor, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The General has already interested himself in their behalf, and he thinks he need not repeat the assurance of his disposition to be useful to them on the present,



and every other proper occasion. In the mean time, he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished while he retains the command of the army.

The Adjutant-General will have such working parties detached, to assist in making the preparations for a general rejoicing, as the chief engineer with the army shall call for; and the Quarter-Master-General will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the war—he will please to apply to head quarters for the form. An extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow to drink, "Perpetual Peace and Happiness to the United States of America."

*The following resolutions were passed on the 7th of August, 1783.*

“ BY THE UNITED STATES,

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

“ *Resolved unanimously,* Ten States being present :

“ THAT an Equestrian Statue of General Washington be erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established :

“ *Resolved,* That the statue be of bronze, the General to be represented in a Roman dress, holding a truncheon in his right hand, and his head incircled in a laurel wreath : The statue to be supported by a marble pedestal, on which are to be represented, in basso relievo, the following principal events of the war, in which General Washington commanded in person, viz : The evacuation of Boston—the capture of the Hessians at Trenton—the battle of Princeton—the action of Monmouth—and the surrender of



York. On the upper part of the front of the pedestal to be engraved as follows: "The United States in Congress assembled, ordered this statue to be erected in the year of our Lord, 1783, in honor of George Washington, the illustrious Commander in Chief of the armies of the United States of America, during the war, which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty and independence."

*"Resolved,* That a statue conformable to the above plan, be executed by the best artist in Europe, under the superintendence of the minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles, and that money to defray the expense of the same, be furnished from the Treasury of the United States.

*"Resolved,* That the Secretary of Congress transmit to the minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles, the best resemblance of General Washington that can be procured for the purpose of having the above statue erected, together with the fittest description of the events which are to be the subject of the basso relievo."

General Washington, at the request of Con-

gress, proceeded to Princeton on the 26th of August, 1783, and being introduced by two members, the President addressed him as follows :

“ S I R,

“ CONGRESS feel particular pleasure in seeing your Excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a war in which you have acted so conspicuous a part :

“ It has been the singular happiness of the United States, that during a war so long, so dangerous and so important, Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a General, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens. In other nations many have performed services for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public ; but to you, sir, peculiar praise is due, your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country ; they deserve the grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent nation : those acknowledgments Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your excellency.



"Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs your services; she wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in the time of peace; for this reason your attendance at Congress has been requested. A committee is appointed to confer with your excellency and to receive your assistance in preparing and adjusting plans relative to those important objects."

*To which his Excellency made the following*

R E P L Y.

"Mr. President,

I AM too sensible of the honourable reception I have now experienced, not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude.

"Notwithstanding Congress appear to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens, and the patience and bravery of our troops, which have produced so happy a

termination of the war, as the most conspicuous effect of the Divine interposition and the surest presage of our future happiness.

“ Highly gratified by the favourable sentiments which Congress are pleased to express of my past conduct, and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow-citizens, I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the national security in whatever manner the sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country by the British forces; after either of which events, I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shade of private life.

Perhaps, Sir, no occasion may offer more suitable than the present to express my humble thanks to God, and my grateful acknowledgments to my country, for the great and uniform support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune, and for the many distinguished honours which Congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the war.



## Farewell Orders

Of GENERAL WASHINGTON to the ARMIES  
of the UNITED STATES.

*Rocky Hill, near Princeton,*

*November 2, 1783.*

**T**HE United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after tomorrow, which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned; it only remains for the Commander in Chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States, (however

widely dispersed individuals who compose them may be) and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell.

But before the Commander in Chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past:—He will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the Address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the



most unobserving—while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this Address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious a part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came

from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: And shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment: And the extensive and fertile regions of



the West will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the Union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts ; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in re-commencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the States, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the Union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions ; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers.—What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit ; yet let such unworthy treatment

produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct; let it be remembered, that the unbiaſſed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promiſed the juſt reward, and given the merited applauſe; let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is eſtabliſhed beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a conſciouſneſs of their atchievements, and fame, ſtill excite the men who compoſed them to honourable actions, under the perſuaſion, that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and induſtry, will not be leſs amiable in civil life, than the more ſplendid qualities of valor, perfeverance, and enterprize were in the field. Every one may reſt aſſured that much, very much of the future happineſs of the officers and men will depend upon the wiſe and manly conduct which ſhall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the General has ſo frequently given it as his opinion, in the moſt public and expliſt manner, that unleſs the principles of the Federal Government were properly ſupported, and the powers of the Union increaſed, the honour, dignity, and juſtice of the nation, would be loſt forever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occaſion ſo intereſting a

sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every foldier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The Commander in Chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the foldier to change the military character into that of a citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipated the happiest consequences: And while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks, in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the



plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To the various branches of the army the General takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship: He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those

who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed forever.

### The Answer.

*To his Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON,  
Commander in Chief of the ARMIES of the  
UNITED STATES of AMERICA.*

WE the officers of the part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson, have received your Excellency's serious and farewell Address to the armies of the United States. We beg you to accept our unfeigned thanks for the communication, and your affectionate assurances of inviolable attachment and friendship. If your attempts to ensure to the armies the just, the promised rewards, of their long, severe, and dangerous services, have failed of success, we believe it has arisen from causes not in your Excellency's power to control. With extreme regret do we reflect on the occasion which called for such endeavours. But while we thank your Excellency for these exertions in favour of the troops you have so successfully commanded, we pray it may be believed, that in this sentiment our own particular interests have but a se-



condary place ; and that even the ultimate ingratitude of the people (were that possible) could not shake the patriotism of those who suffer by it. Still with pleasing wonder and with grateful joy shall we contemplate the glorious conclusion of our labours. To that merit in the revolution which, under the auspices of Heaven, the armies have displayed, posterity will do justice ; and the sons will blush whose fathers were their foes.

Most gladly would we cast a veil on every act which sullies the reputation of our country—never should the page of history be stained with its dishonour—even from our memories should the idea be erased. We lament the opposition to those salutary measures which the wisdom of the Union has planned ; measures which alone can recover and fix on a permanent basis the credit of the States ; measures which are essential to the justice, the honour, and the interest of the nation. While she was giving the noblest proofs of magnanimity, with conscious pride we saw her growing fame ; and, regardless of present sufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, to brighter scenes in prospect. There we beheld the genius

of our country dignified by sovereignty and independence, supported by justice, and adorned with every liberal virtue. There we saw patient Husbandry fearless extend her cultured fields, and animated commerce spread her sails to every wind. There we beheld fair Science lift her head, with all the Arts attending in her train. There, blest with freedom, we saw the human mind expand; and, throwing aside the restraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country, it embraced the world. Such were our fond hopes, and with such delightful prospects did they present us. Nor are we disappointed. Those animating prospects are now changed and changing to realities; and actively to have contributed to their production is our pride, our glory. But justice alone can give them stability. In that justice we still believe. Still we hope that the prejudices of the misinformed will be removed, and the arts of false and selfish popularity, addressed to the feelings of avarice, defeated: Or, in the worst event, the world, we hope, will make the just distinction: We trust the dissingenuousness of a few will not sully the reputation, the honor, and dignity, of the great and respectable majority of the States.

We are happy in the opportunity just presented of congratulating your Excellency on the certain conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace. Relieved at length from long suspense, our warmest wish is to return to the bosom of our country, to resume the character of citizens; and it will be our highest ambition to become useful ones.

To your Excellency this great event must be peculiarly pleasing: For while at the head of her armies, urged by patriot virtues and magnanimity, you persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and discouragement, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and safety of your country;—your heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. We cordially rejoice with you that the period of indulging them has arrived so soon. In contemplating the blessings of liberty and independence, the rich prize of eight years hardy adventure, past sufferings will be forgotten; or if remembered, the recollection will serve to heighten the relish of present happiness. We sincerely pray God this happiness may long be your's; and that when



you quit the stage of human life, you may receive from the unerring Judge, the rewards of valor exerted to save the oppressed, of patriotism, and disinterested virtue.

*West-Point, November 15, 1783.*

THE  
S P E E C H E S  
O F  
THE PRESIDENT, &c.

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First Congress—*First Session.*



NEW-YORK, *April 30, 1798.*

THIS day the great and illustrious WASHINGTON, the favorite son of liberty, and deliverer of his country, entered upon the execution of the office of First Magistrate of the United States of America; to which important station he had been unanimously called by the united voice of the people. The ceremony which took place on this occasion was truly grand and pleasing, and every heart seemed anxious to testify the joy it felt on so memorable an event. His Excellency was escorted from his house, by a troop of light dragoons, and the legion under the command of colonel

LEWIS, attended by a committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, to Federal Hall, where he was formally received by both houses of Congress, assembled in the Senate Chamber ; after which he was conducted to the gallery in front of the hall, accompanied by all the members, when the oath prescribed by the Constitution was administered to him by the Chancellor of this State, who then said,

“ LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.”

which was answered by an immense concourse of citizens, assembled on the occasion, by the loudest plaudit and acclamation, that love and veneration ever inspired. He then made the following speech :



### The President's Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the* SENATE, and  
*of the* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years: A retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken

in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendant proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act,

my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independant nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most go-



vernments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer you to the great Constitutional Charter under which we are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn

the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: So, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules

of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained. And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps, as *finally* staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the Fifth Article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good : For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience ; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmo-



ny, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and more advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensibly included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments,

as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

### Answer of the Senate.

S I R,

WE, the Senate of the United States, return you our sincere thanks for your excellent speech, delivered to both Houses of Congress, congratulate you on the complete organization of the federal government, and felicitate ourselves and our fellow-citizens, on your elevation to the office of President, an office, highly important by the powers constitutionally annexed to it, and extremely honourable from the manner in which the appointment is made. The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favour, is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence and affection of the citizens of America, and is the highest testimonial at once of your merit, and of their esteem. We are sensible, Sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow-citizens, could have called you from a retreat, chosen by the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose



of declining years ; we rejoice, and with us, all America, that, in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to public life. In you all parties confide, in you all interests unite, and we have no doubt, that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions ; and that your prudence and sagacity as a statesman, will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendour to that country, which your skill and valour as a soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and empire.

When we contemplate the coincidence of circumstances, and wonderful combination of causes, which gradually prepared the people of this country for independence ; when we contemplate the rise, progress and termination of the late war, which gave them a name among the nations of the earth, we are, with you, unavoidably led to acknowledge and adore the great Arbiter of the universe, by whom empires rise and fall. A review of the many signal instances of divine interposition in favour of this country, claims our most pious gratitude. And permit

us, Sir, to observe, that among the great events which have led to the formation and establishment of a federal government, we esteem your acceptance of the office of President as one of the most propitious and important.

In execution of the trust reposed in us, we shall endeavour to pursue that enlarged and liberal policy, to which your speech so happily directs. We are conscious that the prosperity of each State is inseparably connected with the welfare of all, and that in promoting the latter, we shall effectually advance the former. In full persuasion of this truth, it shall be our invariable aim to divest ourselves of local prejudices and attachments, and to view the great assemblage of communities and interests committed to our charge with an equal eye. We feel, Sir, the force, and acknowledge the justness of the observation, that the foundation of our national policy should be laid in private morality. If individuals be not influenced by moral principles, it is in vain to look for public virtue, it is, therefore, the duty of legislators to enforce, both by precept and example, the utility as well as the necessity of a strict adherence to the rules of distributive justice. We beg you to be assu-

red, that the Senate will at all times cheerfully co-operate in every measure, which may strengthen the Union, conduce to the happiness, or secure and perpetuate the liberties of this great Confederated Republic.

We commend you, Sir, to the protection of Almighty God, earnestly beseeching him long to preserve a life so valuable and dear to the people of the United States; and that your administration may be prosperous to the nation and glorious to yourself.

In SENATE, May 16, 1789.

Signed by order,

JOHN ADAMS, *President of the  
Senate of the United States.*



## The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for your address, in which the most affectionate sentiments are expressed in the most obliging terms. 'The coincidence of circumstances which led to this auspicious crisis; the confidence reposed in me by my fellow-citizens, and the assistance I may expect from counsels which will be dictated by an enlarged and liberal policy, seem to presage a more prosperous issue to my administration, than a diffidence of my abilities had taught me to anticipate. I now feel myself inexpressibly happy in a belief, that Heaven, which has done so much for our infant nation, will not withdraw its providential influence before our political felicity shall have been completed; and in a conviction that the Senate will at all times co-operate in every measure which may tend to promote the welfare of this Confederate Republic.

Thus supported by a firm trust in the great Arbiter of the universe, aided by the collected wisdom of the Union, and imploring the Divine benediction on our joint exertions in the service of our country, I readily engage with you in the arduous but pleasing task of attempting to make a nation happy.

G. WASHINGTON.

**Answer****Of the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.**

S I R,

THE Representatives of the people of the United States present their congratulations on the event by which your fellow-citizens have attested the pre-eminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem; you have often received tokens of their affection; you now possess the only proof that remained of their gratitude for your service, of their reverence for your wisdom, and of their confidence in your virtues. You enjoy the highest, because the truest honour, of being the First Magistrate, by the unanimous choice of the freest people on the face of the earth.

We well know the anxieties with which you must have obeyed a summons, from the repose



reserved for your declining years, into public scenes, of which you had taken your leave forever; but the obedience was due to the occasion. It is already applauded by the universal joy which welcomes you to your station, and and we cannot doubt but that will be rewarded with all the satisfaction, with which an ardent love for your fellow-citizens must review successful efforts to promote their happiness.

This anticipation is not justified merely by the past experience of your signal services. It is particularly suggested by the pious impressions under which you commence your administration, and the enlightened maxims by which you mean to conduct it. We feel with you the strongest obligations to adore the Invisible Hand which has led the American people through so many difficulties, to cherish a conscious responsibility for the destiny of Republican Liberty, and to seek the only sure means of preserving and recommending the precious deposit in a system of legislation, founded on the principles of an honest policy, and directed by the spirit of a diffusive patriotism.

The question arising out of the Fifth Arti-

cle of the Constitution, will receive all the attention demanded by its importance, and will, we trust, be decided under the influence of all the considerations to which you allude.

In forming the pecuniary provisions for the executive department, we shall not lose sight of a wish resulting from motives which give it a peculiar claim to our regard. Your resolution in a moment critical to the liberties of your country, to renounce all personal emolument, was among the many presages of your patriotic services, which have been amply fulfilled; and your scrupulous adherence now to the law then imposed on yourself, cannot fail to demonstrate the purity, whilst it increases the lustre of a character, which has so many titles to admiration.

Such are the sentiments which we have thought fit to address to you: They flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe, that among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous citizen whose heart will disown them.

All that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplication for the blessings of Heaven

on our country ; and that we add our own for the choicest of those blessings on the most beloved of her citizens.

### The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR very affectionate address produces emotions which I know not how to express. I feel that my past endeavours in the service of my country are far over paid by its goodness ; and I fear much that my future ones may not fulfil your kind anticipation. All that I can promise is, that they will be invariably directed by an honest and an ardent zeal. Of this resource my heart assures me. For all beyond, I rely on the wisdom and patriotism of those with whom I am to co-operate, and a continuance of the blessings of Heaven on our beloved country.

G. WASHINGTON.

O



First Congress—Second Session.



The President's Speech

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the* SENATE, and  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

**I** EMBRACE with great satisfaction the opportunity which now presents itself, of congratulating you on the present favourable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important State of North-Carolina to the Constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received) the rising credit and respectability of our country, the general and increasing good-will towards the government of the Union, and the

concord, peace and plenty, with which we are blessed, are circumstances auspicious, in an eminent degree, to our national prosperity.

In resuming our consultations for the general good, you cannot but derive encouragement from the reflection, that the measures of the last session have been as satisfactory to your constituents, as the novelty and difficulty of the work allowed you to hope. Still further, to realize their expectations, and to secure the blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within our reach, will, in the course of the present important session, call for the cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness, and wisdom.

Among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defence will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

A free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite: And their safety and interest require that they should promote

such manufactures, as tend to render them independent on others, for essential, particularly for military supplies,

The proper establishment of the troops which may be deemed indispensable, will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it, it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers, with a due regard to economy.

There was reason to hope, that the pacific measures adopted with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, would have relieved the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers from their depredations. But you will perceive, that the informations contained in the papers, which I shall direct to be laid before you, (comprehending a communication from the Commonwealth of Virginia) that we ought to be prepared to afford protection to those parts of the Union : And, if necessary, to punish aggressors.

The interest of the United States requires, that our intercourse with other nations shall be



facilitated by such provisions as will enable me to fulfil my duty in that respect, in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good : And to this end, that the compensations to be made to the persons who may be employed, should, according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law ; and a competent fund designated for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of our foreign affairs,

Various considerations also render it expedient, that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens, should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

Uniformity in the currency, weights and measures of the United States, is an object of great importance, and will, I am persuaded, be duly attended to.

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation. But I cannot forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the

introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home ; and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country, by a due attention to the post-office and post-roads.

Nor am I less persuaded, that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage, than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways. By convincing those who are entrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people : And by teaching the people themselves to know, and to value their own rights ; to discern and provide against invasions of them ; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority ; between burthens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience, and those re-

sulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty, from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy, but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

Whether this desirable object will be the best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the Legislature.

GENTLEMEN *of the* HOUSE *of*  
REPRESENTATIVES,

I SAW with peculiar pleasure, at the close of the last session, the resolution entered into by you, expressive of your opinion, that an adequate provision for the support of the public credit is a matter of high importance to the national honour and prosperity. In this sentiment I entirely concur. And to a perfect confidence in your best endeavours to devise such a provision, as will be truly consistent with the end,



I add an equal reliance on the cheerful co-operation of the other branch of the legislature. It would be superfluous to specify inducements to a measure in which the character and permanent interests of the United States are so obviously and so deeply concerned; and which has received so explicit a sanction from your declaration.

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE, *and*  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

I HAVE directed the proper officers to lay before you respectively such papers and estimates as regard to affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union, which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed. And I shall derive great satisfaction from a co-operation with you, in the pleasing though arduous task of ensuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect, from a free, efficient, and equal government.

G. WASHINGTON.

**Answer of the Senate.**

S I R,

WE, the Senate of the United States, return you our thanks for your speech delivered to both Houses of Congress. The accession of the State of North-Carolina to the Confederation of the United States, gives us much pleasure; and we offer you our congratulations on that event, which at the same time adds strength to our Union, and affords a proof that the more the Constitution has been considered, the more the goodness of it has appeared. The information which we have received, that the measures of the last session have been as satisfactory to our constituents as we had reason to expect from the difficulty of the business in which we were engaged, will afford us much consolation and encouragement in resuming our deliberations

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in the present session for the public good ; and every exertion on our part shall be made to realize and secure to our country those blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within her reach. We are persuaded that one of the most essential means of preserving peace, is to be prepared for war, and our attention shall be directed to the objects of common defence, and to the adoption of such plans as shall appear the most likely to prevent our dependence on other countries for essential supplies. In the arrangements to be made respecting the establishment of such troops as may be deemed indispensable, we shall with pleasure provide for the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers, with a due regard to economy. We regret that the pacific measures adopted by government with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, have not been attended with the beneficial effects towards the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers, which we had reason to hope ; and we shall cheerfully co-operate in providing the most effectual means for their protection ; and if necessary, for the punishment of aggressors. The uniformity of the currency, and of weights and measures ; the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, and the



exertion of skill and genius in producing them at home; the facilitating the communication between the distant parts of our country, by means of the post-office and post-roads; a provision for the support of the department of foreign affairs, and a uniform rule of naturalization, by which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens, are objects which shall receive such early attention as their respective importance requires. Literature and science are essential to the preservation of a free constitution; the measures of government should therefore be calculated to strengthen the confidence that is due to that important truth. Agriculture, commerce and manufactures, forming the basis of the wealth and strength of our Confederate Republic, must be the frequent subject of our deliberation, and shall be advanced by all proper means in our power. Public credit being an object of great importance, we shall cheerfully co-operate in all proper measures for its support. Proper attention shall be given to such papers and estimates as you may be pleased to lay before us. Our cares and efforts shall be directed to the welfare of our country; and we have the most perfect dependence upon you co-operating with us, on all occasions, in such

in the present session for the public good ; and every exertion on our part shall be made to realize and secure to our country those blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within her reach. We are persuaded that one of the most essential means of preserving peace, is to be prepared for war, and our attention shall be directed to the objects of common defence, and to the adoption of such plans as shall appear the most likely to prevent our dependence on other countries for essential supplies. In the arrangements to be made respecting the establishment of such troops as may be deemed indispensable, we shall with pleasure provide for the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers, with a due regard to economy. We regret that the pacific measures adopted by government with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, have not been attended with the beneficial effects towards the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers, which we had reason to hope ; and we shall cheerfully co-operate in providing the most effectual means for their protection ; and if necessary, for the punishment of aggressors. The uniformity of the currency, and of weights and measures ; the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, and the

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measures as will ensure to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient and equal government.

In SENATE, January 11, 1790.

Signed by order,

**JOHN ADAMS, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.**

### The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for your address, and for the assurances, which it contains, of attention to the several matters suggested by me to your consideration.

Relying on the continuance of your exertions for the public good, I anticipate for our country the salutary effects of upright and prudent counsels.

G. WASHINGTON.

**Answer.*****Of the* HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.**

THE Representatives of the people of the United States have taken into consideration your speech to both Houses of Congress at the opening of the present session.

We reciprocate your congratulations on the accession of the State of North-Carolina ; an event which, while it is a testimony of the increasing good-will towards the government of the Union, cannot fail to give additional dignity and strength to the American Republic, already rising in the estimation of the world in national character and respectability.

The information that our measures of the last session have not proved dissatisfactory to our



constituents, affords us much encouragement at this juncture, when we are resuming the arduous task of legislating for so extensive an empire.

Nothing can be more gratifying to the Representatives of a free people than the reflection, that their labours are rewarded by the approbation of their fellow-citizens. Under this impression we shall make every exertion to realize their expectations, and to secure to them those blessings which providence has placed within their reach. Still prompted by the same desire to promote their interests which then actuated us, we shall, in the present session, diligently and anxiously pursue those measures which shall appear to us conducive to that end.

We concur with you in the sentiment, that agriculture, commerce and manufactures, are entitled to legislative protection; and that the promotion of science and literature will contribute to the security of a free government; in the progress of our deliberations, we shall not lose sight of objects so worthy of regard.

The various and weighty matters which you

have judged necessary to recommend to our attention, appear to us essential to the tranquility and welfare of the Union, and claim our early and most serious consideration. We shall proceed, without delay, to bestow on them that calm discussion which their importance requires.

We regret that the pacific arrangements pursued with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, have not been attended with that success which we had reason to expect from them; we shall not hesitate to concur in such further measures as may best obviate any ill effects which might be apprehended from the failure of those negotiations.

Your approbation of the vote of this House at the last session, respecting the provision for the public creditors, is very acceptable to us: The proper mode of carrying that resolution into effect, being a subject in which the future character and happiness of these States are deeply involved, will be among the first to deserve our attention.

The prosperity of the United States is the primary object of all our deliberations, and we

cherish the reflection, that every measure which we may adopt for its advancement, will not only receive your cheerful concurrence, but will at the same time derive from your co-operation, additional efficacy, in ensuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings of a free, efficient, and equal government.

**FREDERICK A. MUHLENBURG,**

*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

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### The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE with pleasure the assurances you give me, that you will diligently and anxiously pursue such measures as shall appear to you conducive to the interests of your constituents; and that an early and serious consideration will be given to the various and weighty matters recommended by me to your attention.

I have full confidence, that your deliberations will continue to be directed by an enlightened and virtuous zeal for the happiness of our country.

G. WASHINGTON.

## First Congress—*Third Session.*

### The President's Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the* SENATE, and  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES.

**I**N meeting you again, I feel much satisfaction, in being able to repeat my congratulations on the favourable prospects which continue to distinguish our public affairs. The abundant fruits of another year have blessed our country with plenty, and with the means of a flourishing commerce. The progress of public credit is witnessed by a considerable rise of American stock abroad, as well as at home; and the revenues allotted for this and other national

purposes have been productive beyond the calculations by which they were regulated. This latter circumstance is the more pleasing, as it is not only a proof of the fertility of our resources, but as it assures us of a further increase of the national respectability and credit; and, let me add, as it bears an honourable testimony to the patriotism and integrity of the mercantile and marine part of our citizens. The punctuality of the former in discharging their engagements has been exemplary.

In conforming to the powers vested in me by the acts of the last session, a loan of 3,000,000 of florins, towards which some provisional measures had previously taken place, has been completed in Holland. As well the celerity with which it has been filled, as the nature of the terms (considering the more than ordinary demand for borrowing, created by the situation of Europe) give a reasonable hope, that the further execution of those powers may proceed with advantage and success. The secretary of the treasury has my directions to communicate such further particulars as may be requisite for more precise information.



Since your last sessions, I have received communications by which it appears, that the district of Kentucky, at present a part of Virginia, has concurred in certain propositions in a law of that State, in consequence of which the district is to become a distinct member of the Union ; in case the requisite sanction of Congress be added. For this sanction application is now made. I shall cause the papers on this very important transaction to be laid before you. The liberality and harmony with which it has been conducted, will be found to do great honour to both the parties ; and the sentiments of warm attachment to the Union and its present government, expressed by our fellow-citizens of Kentucky, cannot fail to add an affectionate concern for their particular welfare, to the great national impressions under which you will decide on the case submitted to you.

It has been heretofore known to Congress, that frequent incursions have been made on our frontier settlements by certain banditti of Indians, from the north-west side of the Ohio. These, with some of the tribes dwelling on and near the Wabash, have of late been particularly active in their depredations ; and, being emboldened-

by the impunity of their crimes, and aided by such parts of the neighbouring tribes as could be seduced to join in their hostilities, or afford them a retreat for their prisoners and plunder, they have, instead of listening to the humane invitations and overtures made on the part of the United States, renewed their violences with fresh alacrity and greater effect. The lives of a number of valuable citizens have thus been sacrificed, and some of them under circumstances particularly shocking, whilst others have been carried into a deplorable captivity.

These aggravated provocations render it essential to the safety of the western settlements, that the aggressors should be made sensible that the government of the Union is not less capable of punishing their crimes, than it is disposed to respect their rights and reward their attachments. As this object could not be effected by defensive measures, it became necessary to put in force the act which empowers THE PRESIDENT to call out the militia for the protection of the the frontiers : And I have accordingly authorized an expedition, in which the regular troops in that quarter are combined with such drafts of militia as were deemed sufficient. The event

of the measure is yet unknown to me. The Secretary of War is directed to lay before you a statement of the information on which it is founded, as well as an estimate of the expense with which it will be attended.

The disturbed situation of Europe, and particularly the critical posture of the great maritime powers, whilst it ought to make us more thankful for the general peace and security enjoyed by the United States, reminds us at the same time of the circumspection with which it becomes us to preserve these blessings. It requires also, that we should not overlook the tendency of a war, and even of preparations for a war among the nations most concerned in active commerce with this country, to abridge the means, and thereby at least enhance the price of transporting its valuable productions to proper markets. I recommend it to your serious reflections, how far and in what mode it may be expedient to guard against embarrassments from these contingencies, by such encouragements to our own navigation as will render our commerce and agriculture less dependent on foreign bottoms, which may fail us in the very moments most interesting to both of these great



objects. Our fisheries, and the transportation of our own produce, offer us abundant means for guarding ourselves against this evil.

Your attention seems to be not less due to that particular branch of our trade which belongs to the Mediterranean. So many circumstances unite in rendering the present state of it distressful to us, that you will not think any deliberations misemployed which may lead to its relief and protection.

The laws you have already passed for the establishment of a judiciary system, have opened the doors of justice to all descriptions of persons. You will consider in your wisdom, whether improvements in that system may yet be made, and particularly whether an uniform process of execution on sentences issuing from the federal courts, be not desirable through all the States.

The patronage of our commerce, of our merchants and seamen, has called for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. It seems expedient to regulate by law the exercise of that jurisdiction and those functions which are permitted them, either by express conven-

tion, or by a friendly indulgence in the places of their residence. The Consular Convention too, with his Most Christian Majesty, has stipulated, in certain cases, the aid of the national authority to his consuls established here. Some legislative provision is requisite to carry these stipulations into full effect.

The establishment of the militia, of a mint, of standards of weights and measures, of the post-office and post-roads, are subjects which (I presume) you will resume of course, and which are abundantly urged by their own importance.

**GENTLEMEN *of the* HOUSE of  
REPRESENTATIVES,**

THE sufficiency of the revenues you have established for the objects to which they are appropriated, leaves no doubt that the residuary provisions will be commensurate to the other objects for which the public faith stands now pledged. Allow me, moreover, to hope, that it will be a favourable policy with you, not merely to secure a payment of the interest of the

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debt funded, but as far and as fast as the growing resources of the country will permit, to exonerate it of the principal itself. The appropriation you have made of the western lands explains your dispositions on this subject, and I am persuaded the sooner that valuable fund can be made to contribute, along with other means, to the actual reduction of the public debt, the more salutary will the measures be to every public interest, as well as be more satisfactory to our constituents.

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE, and  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

IN pursuing the various and weighty business of the present session, I indulge the fullest persuasion, that your consultations will be equally marked with wisdom, and animated by the love of your country. In whatever belongs to my duty you shall have all the co-operation which an undiminished zeal for its welfare can inspire. It will be happy for us both, and our best reward, if, by a successful administration of our respective trusts, we can make the established government more and more instrumental in pro-



moting the good of our fellow-citizens, and more and more the object of their attachment and confidence.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, Dec. 8, 1790.*

### Answer of the Senate.

WE receive, Sir, with particular satisfaction, the communications contained in your speech; which confirm to us the progressive state of the public credit, and afford at the same time a new proof of the solidity of the foundation on which it rests; and we cheerfully join in the acknowledgment which is due to the probity and patriotism of the mercantile and maritime part of our fellow-citizens, whose enlightened attachment to the principles of government is not less conspicuous in this, than it has been in other important respects.

In confidence that every constitutional preliminary has been observed, we assure you of our disposition to concur in giving the requisite sanction to the admission of Kentucky, as a distinct member of the Union ; in doing which, we shall anticipate the happy effects to be expected from the sentiments of attachment towards the Union and its present government, which have been expressed by the patriotic inhabitants of that district.

While we regret that the continuance and increase of the hostilities and depredations which have distressed our North-Western frontiers, should have rendered offensive measures necessary, we feel an entire confidence in the sufficiency of the motives which have produced them, and in the wisdom of the dispositions which have been concerted, in pursuance of the powers vested in you ; and whatever may have been the event, we shall cheerfully concur in the provisions, which the expedition that has been undertaken may require on the part of the legislature, and in any other which the future peace and safety of our frontier settlements may call for.

The critical situation of the European powers will engage a due portion of our attention ; and we shall be ready to adopt any measures which a prudent circumspection may suggest, for the preservation of the blessings of peace. The navigation and the fisheries of the United States, are objects too interesting not to inspire a disposition to promote them, by all the means which shall appear to us consistent with their natural progress and permanent prosperity.

Impressed with the importance of a free intercourse with the-Mediterranean, we shall not think any deliberation misemployed which may conduce to the adoption of proper measures for removing the impediments that obstruct it.

The improvement of the judiciary system, and the other important objects to which you have pointed our attention, will not fail to engage the consideration they respectively merit.

In the course of our deliberations upon every subject, we shall rely upon that co-operation, which an undiminished zeal and incessant anxiety for the public welfare, on your part, so thoroughly ensure; and as it is our anxious de-



fire, so it shall be our constant endeavour, to render the established government more and more instrumental in promoting the good of our fellow-citizens, and more and more the object of their attachment and confidence.

### The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

THESE assurances of favourable attention to the subjects I have recommended, and of entire confidence in my views, make the impression on me, which I ought to feel. I thank you for them both, and shall continue to rely much, for the success of all our measures for the public good, on the aid they will receive from the wisdom and integrity of your counsels.

G. WASHINGTON.

**Answer.****Of the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.****S I R,**

THE Representatives of the people of the United States have taken into consideration your address to the two Houses at the opening of the present Session of Congress.

We share in the satisfaction inspired by the prospects which continue to be so auspicious to our public affairs. The blessings resulting from the smiles of Heaven on our agriculture, the rise of public credit, with the further advantages promised by it, and the fertility of resources which are found so little burdensome to the community, fully authorize our mutual congratulations on the present occasion. Nor can we learn

without an additional gratification, that the energy of the laws for providing adequate revenue have been so honourably seconded by those classes of citizens whose patriotism and probity were more immediately concerned.

The success of the loan opened in Holland, under the disadvantages of the present moment, is the more important, as it not only denotes the confidence already placed in the United States, but as the effect of a judicious application of that aid, will still further illustrate the solidity of the foundation on which the public credit rests.

The preparatory steps taken by the State of Virginia in concert with the district of Kentucky towards the erection of the latter into a distinct member of the Union, exhibit a liberality mutually honourable to the parties. We shall bestow on this important subject the favourable consideration which it merits ; and with the national policy which ought to govern our decision, shall not fail to mingle the affectionate sentiments, which are awakened by those expressed in behalf of our fellow-citizens of Kentucky.



Whilst we regret the necessity which has produced offensive hostilities against some of the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, we sympathize too much with our western brethren not to behold with approbation the watchfulness and vigour which have been exerted by the executive authority, for their protection ; and which, we trust, will make aggressors sensible that it is their interest to merit by a peaceable behaviour the friendship and humanity which the United States are always ready to extend to them.

The encouragement of our own navigation, has, at all times, appeared to us highly important. The point of view under which you recommended it to us is strongly enforced by the actual state of things in Europe. It will be incumbent on us to consider in what mode our commerce and agriculture can be best relieved from an injurious dependence on the navigation of other nations, which the frequency of their wars renders a too precarious resource for conveying the productions our country to market.

The present state of our trade to the Mediterranean, seems not less to demand, and will

accordingly receive, the attention which you have recommended.

Having already concurred in establishing a judiciary system, which opens the door of justice to all, without distinction of persons, it will be our disposition to incorporate every improvement which experience may suggest: And we shall consider in particular, how far the uniformity which in other cases is found convenient in the administration of the general government throughout all the States, may be introduced into the forms and rules of executing sentences issuing from the Federal Courts.

The proper regulation of the jurisdiction and functions which may be exercised by Consuls of the United States in foreign countries, with the provisions stipulated to those of his Most Christian Majesty established here, are subjects of too much consequence to the public interest and honour, not to partake of our deliberations.

We shall renew our attention to the establishment of the militia and the other subjects unfinished at the last session, and shall proceed in

them with all the dispatch, which the magnitude of all, and the difficulty of some of them, will allow.

Nothing has given us more satisfaction than to find that the revenues heretofore established have proved adequate to the purposes to which they were allotted. In extending the provision to the residuary objects, it will be equally our care to secure sufficiency and punctuality in the payments due from the treasury of the United States. We shall also never lose sight of the policy of diminishing the public debt, as fast as the increase of the public resources will permit; and are particularly sensible of the many considerations which press a resort to the auxiliary resource furnished by the public lands.

In pursuing every branch of the weighty business of the present session, it will be our constant study to direct our deliberations to the public welfare. Whatever our success may be, we can at least answer for the fervent love of our country, which ought to animate our endeavours. In your co-operation, we are sure of a resource, which fortifies our hopes, that the fruits of the established government will justify the confidence



which has been placed in it, and recommend it more and more to the affection and attachment of our fellow-citizens.

### The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

THE sentiments expressed in your Address, are entitled to my particular acknowledgment. Having no object but the good of our country, this testimony of approbation and confidence, from its immediate representatives, must be amongst my best rewards, as the support of your enlightened patriotism has been among my greatest encouragements. Being persuaded that you will continue to be actuated by the same auspicious principle, I look forward to the happiest consequences from your deliberations, during the present session.

G. WASHINGTON.

## Second Congress—*First Session.*



### The President's Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the* SENATE, *and*  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES.

**I** MEET you, upon the present occasion, with the feelings, which are naturally inspired by a strong impression of the prosperous situation of our common country, and by a persuasion, equally strong, that the labours of the session, which has just commenced, will, under the guidance of the spirit, no less prudent than patriotic, issue in measures conducive to the stability and increase of national prosperity.

Numerous as are the providential blessings which demand our grateful acknowledgments;

the abundance with which another year has again rewarded the industry of the husbandman, is too important to escape recollection.

Your own observations, in your respective situations, will have satisfied you of the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation: In tracing their causes, you will have remarked, with particular pleasure, the happy effects of that revival of confidence, public as well as private, to which the constitution and laws of the United States have so eminently contributed; and you will have observed, with no less interest, new and decisive proofs of the increasing reputation and credit of the nation. But you, nevertheless, cannot fail to derive satisfaction from the confirmation of these circumstances, which will be disclosed in the several official communications that will be made to you in the course of your deliberations.

The rapid subscriptions to the Bank of the United States, which completed the sum allowed to be subscribed in a single day, is among the striking and pleasing evidences which present themselves, not only of confidence in the government, but of resource in the community.



In the interval of your recess, due attention has been paid to the execution of the different objects which were specially provided for by the laws and resolutions of the last session.

Among the most important of these, is the defence and security of the Western Frontiers. To accomplish it on the most humane principles, was a primary wish.

Accordingly, at the same time that treaties have been provisionally concluded, and other proper means used to attach the wavering, and to confirm in their friendship, the well-disposed tribes of Indians—effectual measures have been adopted to make those of a hostile description sensible, that a pacification was desired upon terms of moderation and justice.

These measures having proved unsuccessful, it became necessary to convince the refractory of the power of the United States to punish their depredations; offensive operations have therefore been directed; to be conducted, however, as consistently as possible with the dictates of humanity. Some of these have been crowned with full success, and others are yet depending. The

expeditions which have been completed, were carried on under the authority and at the expense of the United States, by the militia of Kentucky; whose enterprise, intrepidity and good conduct are entitled to peculiar commendation.

Overtures of peace are still continued to the deluded tribes, and considerable numbers of individuals belonging to them have lately renounced all further opposition, removed from their former situations, and placed themselves under the immediate protection of the United States.

It is sincerely to be desired, that all need of coercion, in future, may cease; and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to this, it seems necessary—That they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice—That the mode of alienating their lands, the main source of discontent and war should be so defined and regulated, as to obviate imposition, and as far as

may be practicable, controversy, concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made—That commerce with them should be promoted under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment towards them, and that such rational experiments should be made, for imparting to them the blessings of civilization, as may, from time to time, suit their condition—That the Executive of the United States should be enabled to employ the means, to which the Indians have been long accustomed, for uniting their immediate interests with the preservation of peace—And that efficacious provision should be made for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those, who, by violating their rights, shall infringe the treaties, and endangering the peace of the Union.

A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honourable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.

The powers specially vested in me by the act,

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laying certain duties on distilled spirits, which respect the subdivisions of the districts into surveys, the appointment of officers, and the assignment of compensations, have likewise been carried into effect. In a matter, in which both materials and experience were wanting to guide the calculation, it will be readily conceived that there must have been difficulty in such an adjustment of the rates of compensation as would conciliate a reasonable competency, with a proper regard to the limits prescribed by the law. It is hoped that the circumspection which has been used will be found in the result to have secured the last of the two objects; but it is probable, that with a view to the first, in some instances a revision of the provision will be found adviseable.

The impressions with which this law has been received by the community, have been, upon the whole, such as were to be expected among enlightened and well-disposed citizens, from the propriety and necessity of the measure. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a considerable part of the United States, and a misconception of some of its provisions, have given occasion in particular places to some degree of

discontent. But it is satisfactory to know, that this disposition yields to proper explanations and more just apprehensions of the true nature of the law. And I entertain a full confidence, that it will, in all, give way to motives which arise out of a just sense of duty, and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

If there are any circumstances, in the law, which, consistently with its main design, may be so varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections that may happen to exist, it will consist with a wise moderation to make the proper variations. It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite with a steady and firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of government, the fullest evidence of a disposition, as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundations of the public administration in the affections of the people.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, has been fixed, and announced by proclamation; which district

will comprehend lands on both sides of the river Potomac, and the towns of Alexandria and Georgetown. A city has also been laid out agreeably to a plan which will be placed before Congress; and as there is a prospect, favoured by the rate of sales which have already taken place, of ample funds for carrying on the necessary buildings, there is every expectation of their due progress.

The completion of the census of the inhabitants, for which provision was made by a law, has been duly notified, (excepting in one instance, in which the return has been informal; and another, in which it has been omitted or miscarried) and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty, which will be laid before you, will give you the pleasing assurance, that the present population of the United States borders on four millions of persons.

It is proper also to inform you, that a further loan of two millions and a half of florins has been completed in Holland; the terms of which are similar to those of the one last announced, except as to a small reduction of charges. Another, on like terms, for six mil-



lions of florins, had been set on foot, under circumstances that assured immediate completion.

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE,

Two treaties which have been provisionally concluded with the Cherokees, and Six Nations of Indians, will be laid before you for your consideration and ratification.

GENTLEMEN *of the* HOUSE of  
REPRESENTATIVES,

In entering upon the discharge of your Legislative trust, you must anticipate with pleasure, that many of the difficulties, necessarily incident to the first arrangement of a new government, for an extensive country, have been happily surmounted by the zealous and judicious exertions of your predecessors in co-operation with the other branch of the legislature. The important objects which remain to be accomplished, will, I am persuaded, be conducted upon principles equally comprehensive, and equally well calculated for the advancement of the general weal.

The time limited for receiving subscriptions to the loans proposed by the act making provision for the debt of the United States, having expired, statements from the proper department, will, as soon as possible, apprise you of the exact result. Enough, however, is already known to afford an assurance that the views of that act have been substantially fulfilled. The subscription in the domestic debt of the United States, has embraced by far the greatest proportion of that debt; affording at the same time, proof of the general satisfaction of the public creditors with the system which has been proposed to their acceptance, and of the spirit of accommodation to the convenience of the government with which they are actuated. The subscriptions in the debts of the respective states, as far as the provisions of the law have permitted, may be said to be yet more general. The part of the debt of the United States which remains unsubscribed, will naturally engage your further deliberations.

It is particularly pleasing to me to be able to announce to you, that the revenues which have been established, promise to be adequate to their objects, and may be permitted, if no unforeseen

exigency occurs, to supersede, for the present, the necessity of any new burthens upon our constituents.

An object which will claim your early attention, is a provision for the current service of the ensuing year, together with such ascertained demands upon the treasury as require to be immediately discharged, and such casualties as may have arisen in the execution of the public business, for which no specific appropriation may have yet been made; of all which, a proper estimate will be laid before you.

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE, and  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

I SHALL content myself with a general reference to former communications for several objects, upon which the urgency of other affairs has hitherto postponed any definitive resolution. Their importance will recal them to your attention; and I trust that the progress already made, in the most arduous arrangements of the government, will afford you leisure to resume them with advantage.



There are, however, some of them of which I cannot forbear a more particular mention; these are, the Militia—The Post-Office and Post-Roads—The Mint—Weights and Measures—a Provision for the sale of the Vacant Lands of the United States.

The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or the preservation of order. In connexion with this, the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and vulnerable, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement; exposed as little as possible to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances.

The importance of the Post-Office and Post-Roads, on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety and facility of communication, is increased by the instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government;

which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. The establishment of additional cross-posts, especially to some of the important points in the western and northern parts of the Union, cannot fail to be of material utility.

The disorders in the existing currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, a scarcity so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes, strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into concerning the establishment of a Mint. Measures have been taken pursuant to that resolution for procuring some of the most necessary articles, together with the requisite apparatus.

An uniformity in the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the Constitution, and if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and universal, must be no less honourable to the public councils than conducive to the public convenience.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands

of the United States, is particularly urged, among other reasons, by the important considerations—that they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt;—that if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burthening our citizens with new taxes for the extinguishment of the principal; and that being free to discharge the principal, but in a limited proportion, no opportunity ought to be lost for availing the public of its rights.

**G. WASHINGTON.**

*United States, Oct. 25, 1791.*



### Answer of the Senate.

S I R,

THE Senate of the United States have received with much satisfaction the assurance of public prosperity contained in your speech to both Houses. The multiplied blessings of Providence have not escaped our notice, or failed to excite our gratitude.

The benefits which flow from the restoration of public and private confidence, are conspicuous and important; and the pleasure with which we contemplate them is heightened by your assurance of those farther communications, which shall confirm their existence, and indicate their source.

While we rejoice in the success of those military operations which have been directed against the hostile Indians, we lament with you the necessity that has produced them; and we

participate the hope that the present prospect of a general peace, on terms of moderation and justice, may be brought into complete and permanent effect; and that the measures of government, for the security of our frontiers, may equally embrace the general interests of humanity. Our solicitude to obtain, will ensure our zealous attention to an object so warmly espoused by the dictates of benevolence, and so highly interesting to the honour and welfare of the nation.

The several subjects which you have particularly recommended, and those which remain of former sessions, will engage our early consideration. We are encouraged to prosecute them with alacrity and steadiness, by the belief, that they will interest no passion but that for the general welfare, by the assurance of concert, and by a view of those arduous and important arrangements which have been already accomplished.

We observe, Sir, the constancy and activity of your zeal for the public good. The example

will animate our efforts to promote the happiness of our country.

Signed by order and in behalf of the Senate,

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

### The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

THIS manifestation of your zeal for the honour and the happiness of our country, derives its full value from the share which your deliberations have already had in promoting both.

I thank you for the favourable sentiments with which you view the part I have borne in the arduous trust committed to the government of the United States; and desire you to be assured that all my zeal will continue to second those



further efforts for the public good, which are ensured by the spirit in which you are entering on the present session.

G. WASHINGTON.

### Answer

*Of the* HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES.

S I R,

IN receiving your address at the opening of the present session, the House of Representatives have taken an ample share in the feelings inspired by the actual prosperity and flattering prospects of our country; and whilst, with becoming gratitude to Heaven, we ascribe this happiness to the true source from which it flows, we behold with animating pleasure, the degree in which the constitution and laws of the United States have been instrumental in dispensing it.

It yields us particular satisfaction to learn the success with which the different important

measures of the government have proceeded ; as well those specially provided for at the last session, as those of preceding date.

The safety of our Western Frontiers, in which the lives and repose of so many of our fellow-citizens are involved, being peculiarly interesting, your communications on that subject are proportionably grateful to us.

The gallantry and good conduct of the militia, whose services were called for, is an honourable confirmation of the efficacy of that precious resource of a free state ; and we anxiously wish, that the consequences of their successful enterprizes, and of the other proceedings to which you have referred, may leave the United States free to pursue the most benevolent policy towards the unhappy and deluded race of people in our neighbourhood.

The amount of the population of the United States, determined by the returns of the census, is a source of the most pleasing reflections, whether it be viewed in relation to our national safety and respectability, or as a proof of that felicity in the situation of our country,

which favours so unexampled a rapidity in its growth: Nor ought any to be insensible to the additional motives suggested by this important fact, to perpetuate the free government established, with a wise administration of it, to a portion of the earth which promises such an increase of the number which is to enjoy these blessings within the limits of the United States.

We shall proceed, with all the respect due to your patriotic recommendations, and with a deep sense of the trust committed to us by our fellow-citizens, to take into consideration the various and important matters falling within the present session. And in discussing and deciding each, we shall feel every disposition, whilst we are pursuing the public welfare, which must be the supreme object with all our constituents, to accommodate, as far as possible, the means of attaining it to the sentiments and wishes of every part of them.



## The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

THE pleasure I derive from an assurance of your attention to the objects I have recommended to you, is doubled by your concurrence in the testimony I have borne to the prosperous condition of our public affairs. Relying on the sanctions of your enlightened judgment, and on your patriotic aid, I shall be the more encouraged in all my endeavours for the public weal ; and particularly in those which may be required on my part for executing the salutary measures I anticipate from your present deliberations.

G. WASHINGTON.

Second Congress—*Second Session.*



*The President's Speech.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the* SENATE, *and*  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

**I**T is some abatement of the satisfaction, with which I meet you on the present occasion, that in felicitating you on a continuance of the national prosperity, generally, I am not able to add to it information that the Indian hostilities, which have, for some time past distressed our north-western frontier, have terminated.

You will, I am persuaded, learn, with no less concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours towards effecting a pacification have hitherto issued only in new and outrageous

proofs of persevering hostility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in contest. An earnest desire to procure tranquility to the frontiers—to stop the further effusion of blood—to arrest the progress of expence—to forward the prevalent wish of the nation, for peace, has led to strenuous efforts, through various channels, to accomplish these desirable purposes; in making which efforts, I consulted less my one anticipations of the event, or the scruples which some considerations were calculated to inspire, than the wish to find the object attainable; or if not attainable, to ascertain, unequivocally, that such is the case.

A detail of the measures which have been pursued, and of their consequences, which will be laid before you, while it will confirm to you the want of success, thus far, will, I trust evince that means, as proper and as efficacious as could have been devised, have been employed. The issue of some of them, indeed, is still depending; but a favourable one, though not to be despaired of, is not promised by any thing that has yet happend.

In the course of the attempts which have been



made, some valuable citizens have fallen victims to their zeal for the public service. A sanction commonly respected, even among savages, has been found, in this instance, insufficient to protect from massacre, the emissaries of peace; it will, I presume, be duly considered, whether the occasion does not call for an exercise of liberality towards the families of the deceased.

It must add to your concern, to be informed that besides the continuation of hostile appearances, among the tribes north of the Ohio, some threatening symptoms have of late been revived among some of those south of it.

A part of the Cherokees, known by the name of Chickamagas, inhabiting five villages on the Tennessee river, have long been in the practice of committing depredations on the neighbouring settlements.

It was hoped that the treaty of *Holston*, made with the Cherokee nation, in July, 1791, would have prevented a repetition of such depredations. But the event has not answered this hope. The Chickamāges, aided by some banditti of another tribe in their vicinity, have

recently perpetrated wanton and unprovoked hostilities upon the citizens of the United States, in that quarter. The information which has been received on this subject will be laid before you. Hitherto defensive precautions, only have been strictly enjoined and observed.

It is not understood that any breach of treaty, or aggression whatsoever, on the part of the United States, or their citizens, is even alleged, as a pretext for the spirit of hostility in this quarter.

I have reason to believe, that every practicable exertion has been made, (pursuant to the provision by law for that purpose) to be prepared for the alternative of a prosecution of the war, in the event of a failure of pacific overtures. A large proportion of the troops, authorized to be raised, have been recruited, though the number is still incomplete; and pains have been taken to discipline, and put them in condition for the particular kind of service to be performed. A delay of operations (besides being dictated by the measures which were pursuing towards a pacific termination of the war) has been in itself deemed preferable to immature efforts. A statement, from the proper depart-

ment, with regard to the number of troops raised, and some other points which have been suggested, will afford more precise information, as a guide to the legislative consultations; and among other things, will enable Congress to judge whether some additional stimulus to the recruiting service may not be adviseable.

In looking forward to the future expence of the operations, which may be found inevitable, I derive consolation from the information I receive, that the product of the revenues for the present year, is likely to supercede the necessity of additional burthens on the community, for the service of the ensuing year. This, however, will be better ascertained in the course of the session; and it is proper to add, that the information alluded to proceeds from the supposition of no material extension of the spirit of hostilities.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs, without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier; and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians; without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory.



To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside among them, as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood. If in addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated. This would be still more the case, were it not for the impediments which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits, distilled within the United States. These impediments have lessened, and are lessening in local extent; and, as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive.

But symptoms of increased opposition having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged special interposition on my part, proper and advisable, and under this impression have

issued a proclamation, warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings, having for their object, or tending to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution, for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of offenders. And congress may be assured, that nothing within constitutional and legal limits, which may depend on me, shall be wanting to assert and maintain the just authority of the laws: In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full co-operation of the other departments of the government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again into the view of the legislature, the subject of a reversion of the judiciary system. A representation from the judges of the supreme court, which will be laid before you, points out some of the inconveniences that are experienced. In the course of the execution of the laws, considerations rise out of the structure of

that system, which in some cases tend to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the courts of the United States, and supplementary definition of offences against the constitution and laws of the Union, and of the punishment for such offences, will, it is presumed, be found worthy of particular attention.

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens, which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations, which we may sometimes have occasion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which furnishes just subject of complaint, and might endanger our peace with them. And, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with foreign powers will be presented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpose, which takes place, if not renewed at the close of the present session.



In execution of the authority given by the legislature, measures have been taken for engaging some artists from abroad to aid in the establishment of our mint : others have been employed at home. Provision has been made of the requisite buildings, and these are now putting into proper condition for the purposes of the establishment. There has also been a small beginning in the coinage of half dimes : the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them.

The regulation of foreign coins, in correspondence with the principles of our national coinage, as being essential to their due operation, and to order in our money concerns, will, I doubt not, be resumed and completed.

It is represented that some provisions in the law, which establishes the post-office, operate, in experiment, against the transmission of newspapers to distant parts of the country. Should this, upon due inquiry, be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information, will, I doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy.

The adoption of a constitution for the State of *Kentucky*, has been notified to me. The legislature will share with me in the satisfaction which arises from an event, interesting to the happiness of the part of the nation to which it relates, and conducive to the general order.

It is proper likewise to inform you, that since my last communication on the subject, and in further execution of the acts, severally making provision for the public debt, and for the reduction thereof, three new loans have been effected, each for three millions of florins; one at Antwerp, at the annual interest of four and one half per cent, with an allowance of four per cent, in lieu of all charges; and the other two at Amsterdam, at the annual interest of four per cent, with an allowance of five and one half per cent, in one case, and of five per cent, in the other, in lieu of all charges. The rates of these loans, and the circumstances under which they have been made, are confirmations of the high state of our credit abroad.

Among the objects to which these funds have been directed to be applied, the payment of the debts due to certain foreign officers, according

to the provision made during the last session, has been embraced.

GENTLEMEN *of the* HOUSE *of*  
REPRESENTATIVES,

I ENTERTAIN a strong hope, that the state of the national finances is now sufficiently matured to enable you to enter upon a systematic and effectual arrangement for the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government. No measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to its intrinsic importance, or to the general sentiment and wish of the nation.

Provision is likewise requisite for the reimbursement of the loan which has been made for Bank of the United States, pursuant to the eleventh section of the act by which it is incorporated. In fulfilling the public stipulations in this particular, it is expected a valuable saving will be made.

Appropriations for the current service of the



ensuing year, and for such extraordinaries as may require provision, will demand, and I doubt not will engage your early attention.

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE, *and*  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

I CONTENT myself with recalling your attention, generally, to such objects, not particularized in my present, as have been suggested in my former communications to you.

Various temporary laws will expire during the present session. Among these, that which regulates trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, will merit particular notice-

The results of your common deliberations hitherto, will, I trust, be productive of solid and durable advantages to our constituents; such as, by conciliating more and more their ultimate suffrage, will tend to strengthen and confirm their attachment to that constitution of government, upon which, under Divine Providence, materially depend their union, their safety, and their happiness.

Still further to promote and secure these inestimable ends, there is nothing which can have a more powerful tendency, than the careful cultivation of harmony, combined with a due regard to stability in the public councils.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, Nov. 6, 1792.*

### Answer of the Senate.

ACCEPT, Sir, our grateful acknowledgements for your address at the opening of the present session. We participate with you in the satisfaction arising from the continuance of the general prosperity of the nation ; but it is not without the most sincere concern that we are informed, that the reiterated efforts which have been made to establish peace with the hostile Indians have hitherto failed to accomplish that desired effect. Hoping that the measure still depending may prove more successful than those which have preceded them, we shall nevertheless concur in every necessary preparation for the alter-

native ; and, should the Indians on either side of the Ohio persist in their hostilities, fidelity to the Union, as well as affection for our fellow-citizens on the frontiers, will ensure our decided co-operation in every measure, which shall be deemed requisite for their protection and safety.

At the same time that we avow the obligation of the government to afford its protection to every part of the Union, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret, that even a small portion of our fellow citizens in any quarter of it, should have combined to oppose the operation of the law for the collection of duties on spirits distilled within the United States ; a law repeatedly sanctioned by the authority of the nation, and at this juncture materially connected with the safety and protection of those who oppose it. Should the means already adopted, fail in securing obedience to this law, such further measures as may be thought necessary to carry the same into complete operation, cannot fail to receive the approbation of the Legislature, and the support of every patriotic citizen.

It yields us particular pleasure to learn, that



the productiveness of the revenue of the present year, will probably supersede the necessity of any additional tax for the service of the next.

The organization of the government of the State of Kentucky, being an event peculiarly interesting to a part of our fellow-citizens, and conducive to the general order, affords us peculiar satisfaction,

We are happy to learn, that the high state of our credit abroad has been evinced by the terms on which the new loans have been negotiated.

In the course of the session, we shall proceed to take into consideration the several objects, which you have been pleased to recommend to our attention ; and, keeping in view the importance of union and stability in the public councils, we shall labour to render our decisions conducive to the safety and happiness of our country.

We repeat with pleasure our assurances of confidence in your administrations, and our are

dent wish that your unabated zeal for the public good may be rewarded by the durable prosperity of the nation, and every ingredient of personal happiness.

JOHN LANGDON, *President pro tempore, of the Senate.*

### The President's Reply.

I DERIVE much pleasure, gentlemen, from your very satisfactory address. The renewed assurances of your confidence my administration, and the expression of your wish for my personal happiness, claim and receive my particular acknowledgments. In my future endeavours for the public welfare, to which my duty may call me, I shall not cease to count upon the firm, enlightened and patriotic support of the Senate.

G. WASHINGTON.

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**Answer***Of the* HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.

S I R,

THE House of Representatives, who always feel satisfaction in meeting you, are much concerned that the occasion for mutual felicitation, afforded by circumstances favorable to the national prosperity, should be abated by a continuance of the hostile spirit of many of the Indian tribes ; and particularly, that the reiterated efforts for effecting a general pacification with them, should have issued in new proofs of their persevering enmity, and the barbarous sacrifice of citizens who, as the messengers of peace, were distinguishing themselves by their zeal for the public service. In our deliberations on this important department of our affairs, we shall be disposed to pursue every measure that may be dictated by the sincerest desire on one hand, of cultivating peace, and manifesting, by every practicable regulation, our benevo-



lent regard for the welfare of those misguided people; and by the duty we feel, on the other, to provide effectually for the safety and protection of our fellow-citizens.

While with regret we learn, that symptoms of opposition to the law imposing duties on spirits distilled within the United States, have manifested themselves, we reflect, with consolation, that they are confined to a small portion of our fellow citizens. It is not more essential to the preservation of true liberty, that a government should be always ready to listen to the representations of its constituents, and to accommodate its measures to the sentiments and wishes of every part of them, as far as will consist with the good of the whole, than it is, that the just authority of the laws should be steadfastly maintained.

Under this impression, every department of the government, and all good citizens, must approve the measures you have taken, and the purpose you have formed, to execute this part of your trust with firmness and energy; and be assured, Sir, of every constitutional aid and co-operation which may become ne-

quisite on our part. And we hope, that while the progress of contentment under the law in question, is as obvious as it is rational, no particular part of the community may be permitted to withdraw from the general burthens of the country, by a conduct as irreconcilable to national justice, as it is inconsistent with public decency.

The productive state of the public revenue, and the confirmation of the credit of the United States abroad, evinced by the loans at *Antwerp* and *Amsterdam*, are communications the more gratifying, as they enforce the obligation to enter on systematic and effectual arrangements for discharging the public debt, as far the conditions of it will permit. And we take pleasure in the opportunity to assure you of our entire concurrence in the opinion, that no measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to the urgent wish of the community, or the intrinsic importance of promoting so happy a change in our situation.

The adoption of a constitution for the State of *Kentucky*, is an event in which we join in all the satisfaction you have expressed. It may be

considered as particularly interesting, since, besides the immediate benefits resulting from it, it is another auspicious demonstration of the facility and success with which an enlightened people are capable of providing, by free and deliberate plans of government, for their own safety and happiness.

The operation of the law establishing the Post-office, as it relates to the transmission of newspapers, will merit our particular inquiry and attention; the circulation of political intelligence through these vehicles, being justly reckoned among the surest means of preventing the degeneracy of a free government, as well as of recommending every salutary public measure, to the confidence and co-operation of all virtuous citizens.

The several other matters which you have communicated and recommended, will in their order receive the attention due to them; and our discussion will, in all cases, we trust, be guided by a proper respect for harmony and stability in the public councils, and a desire to conciliate more and more, the attachment of our consti-



tments to the constitution, by measures accommodated to the true ends for which it was established.

### The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

IT gives me pleasure to express to you the satisfaction which your address affords me. I feel, as I ought, the approbation you manifest of the measures I have taken, and the purpose I have formed, to maintain, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by the constitution, the respect which is due to the laws, and the assurance which you, at the same time, give me of every constitutional aid and co-operation, that may become requisite on your part.

This is a new proof of that enlightened solicitude for the establishment and confirmation of public order, which, embracing a zealous regard for the principles of true liberty, has guided the deliberations of the House of Representatives; a perseverance, which can alone secure,

under the divine blessing, the real and permanent felicity of our common country.

### G. WASHINGTON.

### Third Congress—*First Session.*



#### The President's Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the* SENATE, and  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

SINCE the commencement of the term, for which I have been again called to office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow-citizens at large, the deep and respectful sense, which I feel, of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality, with which I have been honoured by my country; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be



estimated according to its real motives ; and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions, having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage which commanded me to resume the executive power ; and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relation ; there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace, drawn into question, by the suspicions, too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties ; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our rights to the immunities, belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the proclamation, which will be laid before you was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules which should conform to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports; I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory; or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve or enforce this plan of procedure, and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand some further provisions.

When individuals shall, within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war; or enter upon military expeditions, or enterprizes within the jurif-

dition of the United States; or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties on violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate; these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatsoever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it. In like manner, as several of the courts have *doubted*, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property; and have *denied* their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the Executive is to be the resort in either of the two last mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorised by law, to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information he shall request it.



I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of *our* duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from *them* the fulfilment of *their* duties towards *us*. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations; which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known, that we are at all times ready for war.

The documents which will be presented to you, will shew the amount, and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot with prudence be neglected; as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger. Nor can such arrangements,

with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy, equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an inquiry, which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act, "more effectually to provide for the national defence by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States," has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several States has not detected some imperfections in the scheme; and whether a material feature in an improvement of it, ought not to be to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art, which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone?

The connexion of the United States with Europe, has become extremely interesting.—The occurrences which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the Executive, will be exhibited to Congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians, north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity, proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful, how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them, during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence which relate to this important subject, you will determine, whether the deficiency in the number of troops, granted by law, shall be compensated by succours of militia; or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits. An anxiety has been also demonstrated by the Executive, for peace with the Creeks and the Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with cloathing, and offensive measures against them prohibited, during the



recess of Congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted for the violences committed upon them. But the papers, which will be delivered to you, disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes, and it is with Congress to pronounce what shall be done.

After they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labours, to render tranquility with the savages, permanent, by creating ties of interest. Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations in behalf of the United States, is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies, with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment, and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hope of profit; but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only. Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of Congress, they will recollect, that it cannot be

accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the Executive.

GENTLEMEN *of the* HOUSE of  
REPRESENTATIVES,

THE commissioners, charged with the settlement of accounts between the United and individual States, concluded their important functions, within the time limited by law; and the balances, struck in their report, which will be laid before Congress, have been placed on the books of the treasury.

On the first day of June last, an installment of one million of florins became payable on the loans of the United States in Holland. This was adjusted by a prolongation of the period of reimbursement, in the nature of a new loan, at interest at five per cent, for the term of ten years; and the expences of this operation were a commission of three per cent.

The first installment of the loan of two millions of dollars from the bank of the United States, has been paid, as was directed by law.

For the the second, it is necessary that provision should be made.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent, than the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt; on none, can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable.

The productiveness of the public revenues hitherto, has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed of it; but it is not expected to prove commensurate with all the objects which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will, therefore, it is presumed, be requisite; and it is hoped that these may be made consistently with a due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contribution, to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

But here I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy; and to this primary good, no-



thing can produce more, than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused without restraint, throughout the United States.

An estimate of the appropriations, necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores, made during the recess, will be presented to Congress.

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE  
*and* HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

THE several subjects, to which I have now referred, open a wide range to your deliberations; and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazzarded; without harmony, as far as consists with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for want of

temper or of candour; so shall not the public happiness languish, from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operations.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, Dec. 3, 1793.*

### **Answer of the Senate.**

ACCEPT, Sir, the thanks of the Senate, for your Speech delivered to both Houses of Congress at the opening of the session. Your re-election to the Chief Magistracy of the United States, gives us sincere pleasure. We consider it as an event every way propitious to the happiness of our country; and your compliance with the call, as a fresh instance of the patriotism which has so repeatedly led you to sacrifice private inclination to the public good. In the unanimity which a second time marks this important national act, we trace with particular satisfaction, besides the distinguished tribute paid to the virtues and abilities which it recognizes, another proof of that just discern-

ment, and constancy of sentiments and views, which have hitherto characterised the citizens of the United States.

As the European powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, were involved in war, in which we had taken no part—it seemed necessary that the disposition of the nation for peace, should be promulgated to the world, as well for the purpose of admonishing our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of acts hostile to any of the belligerent parties, as to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities of our situation; we therefore contemplate with pleasure, the Proclamation by you issued, and give it our hearty approbation. We deem it a measure well timed, and wise; manifesting a watchful solicitude for the welfare of the nation, and calculated to promote it.

The several important matters presented to our consideration, will, in the course of the session, engage all the attention to which they are respectively entitled; and as the public happiness will be the sole guide of our deliberations,



we are perfectly assured of receiving your strenuous and most zealous co-operation.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

### **The President's Reply.**

**GENTLEMEN,**

THE pleasure expressed by the Senate, on my re-election to the station which I fill, commands my sincere and warmest acknowledgments. If this be an event, which promises the smallest addition to the happiness of our country, as it is my duty, so shall it be my study to realize the expectation.

The decided approbation, which the Proclamation now receives from your House, by completing the proof, that this measure is considered as manifesting a vigilant attention to the welfare of the United States, brings with it a peculiar gratification to my mind.

The other important subjects, which have been communicated to you, will, I am confident, receive a due discussion, and the result will, I trust, prove fortunate to the United States.

G. WASHINGTON.

### Answer

*Of the* HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE Representatives of the People of the United States, in meeting you for the first time since you have been again called by an unanimous suffrage to your present station, find an occasion which they embrace with no less sincerity than promptitude, for expressing to you their congratulations on so distinguished a testimony of public approbation, and their entire confidence in the purity and patriotism of the motives which have produced this obedience to the voice of your country. It is to

virtues which have commanded long and universal reverence, and services from which have flowed great and lasting benefits, that the tribute of praise may be paid without the reproach of flattery ; and it is from the same sources that the fairest anticipations may be derived in favour of the public happiness.

The United States having taken no part in the war which has embraced in Europe the power with whom they have the most extensive relations, the maintenance of peace was justly to be regarded as one of the most important duties of the Magistrate charged with the faithful execution of the laws. We accordingly witness with approbation and pleasure, the vigilance with which you have guarded against an interruption of that blessing, by your Proclamation, admonishing our citizens of the consequences of illicit or hostile acts towards the belligerent parties ; and promoting, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation.

The connection of the United States with Europe has evidently become extremely inter-



esting. The communications which remain to be exhibited to us, will, no doubt, assist in giving us a fuller view of the subject, and in guiding our deliberations to such results as may comport with the rights and true interests of our country.

We learn with deep regret that the measures dictated by a love of peace for obtaining an amicable termination of the afflicting war on our frontier should have been frustrated, and that a resort to offensive measures should have again become necessary. As the latter, however, must be rendered more satisfactory in proportion to the solicitude for peace manifested by the former, it is to be hoped, they will be pursued under the better auspices on that account, and be finally crowned with more happy success.

In relation to the particular tribes of Indians, against whom offensive measures have been prohibited, as well as on all the other important subjects which you have presented to our view, we shall bestow the attention which they claim. We cannot, however, refrain at this time, from particularly expressing our concurrence in your anxiety for the regular dis-

charge of the public debts, as fast as circumstances and events will permit; and in the policy of removing any impediments that may be found in the way of a faithful representation of public proceedings throughout the United States, being persuaded with you, that on no subject more than the former, can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable, and that with respect to the latter, no resource is so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy.

Throughout our deliberations we shall endeavour to cherish every sentiment which may contribute to render them conducive to the dignity, as well as the welfare of the United States; and we join with you in imploring that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours.

## The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

I SHALL not affect to conceal the cordial satisfaction which I derive from the address of the House of Representatives. Whatsoever those services may be which you have sanctioned by your favour, it is a sufficient reward, that they have been accepted, as they were meant. For the fulfilment of your anticipations of the future, I can give no other assurance, than that the motives, which you approve, shall continue unchanged.

It is truly gratifying to me, to learn, that the Proclamation has been considered as a reasonable guard against the interruption of the public peace. Nor can I doubt, that the subjects which I have recommended to your attention, as depending upon legislative provisions, will receive a discussion suited to their importance. With every reason, then, it may be



expected. that your deliberations, under the Divine blessing, will be matured to the honour and happiness of the United States.

### G. WASHINGTON.

Third Congress—Second Session.



The President's Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the* SENATE, and  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

**W**HEN we call to mind the gracious indulgence of Heaven, by which the American People became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power and happiness, to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret do I announce to you, that during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United States, "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the States, scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known, that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented, and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented, did not correspond with what it deserved; the arts of delusion were no longer continued to the efforts of designing individuals.

The very forbearance to press prosecutions, was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws; and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers



employed. From a belief, that, by a more formal concert, their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived, that every expectation from the tenderness which hitherto had been pursued, was unavailing, and that further delay could only create an opinion of impotency, or irresolution in the government. Legal process, was, therefore, delivered to the Marshal, against rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at his person, and the personal property of the Inspector of the Revenue. They fired upon the Marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner. He was obliged, by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other process, on the west side of the Allegheny mountain; and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he *had* served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house

of the Inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally destroyed, by fire, his buildings, and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government; it being avowed, that the motives of such outrages were, to compel the resignation of the Inspector; to withstand by the force of arms, the authority of the United States, and thereby to extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States notified me, that "in the counties of Washington and Allegany, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshal of that district." On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stript of its capacity to enforce the laws: Crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were

perpetrated without controul; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and overawed into silence, or an apparent acquiescence; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States, would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins, that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen—to publish the dishonor of such excesses—to encounter the expense, and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition, were steps too delicate, too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning the militia immediately into the field; but I required them to be held in readiness, that if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act, before the season should be too far advanced.

My Proclamation of the 7th of August last, was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of Commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorized to confer with any bod



ies of men, or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit, in stating the sensations which had been excited in the Executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; to represent, however, that without submission, coercion *must* be the resort; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of the executive power—pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania; upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the Commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by shewing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted; all of those who had committed, or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe the mild form, which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general, nor conclusive to recommend or warrant a further suspension of the march of the militia.

Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents, in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.

It was a task, too difficult to ascertain, with precision, the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy and the ease of my fellow-citizens, belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate. My very great reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army, which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt, and adequate, in every view, and might perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the States of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; the Governor of Pennsylvania having declared on this occasion, an opinion which justified a requisition to the other States.

As Commander in Chief of the militia, when called into actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion that the laws were secure from obstruction; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends of peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance, which they ought always to receive, and I trust ever will receive, against the vicious and turbulent, I should have caught with avidity the opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and home. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done; it being now confessed, by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law, but that a spirit inimical to all order has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden; but every



appearance assuring such an issue as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the Governor of Virginia.

Still, however, as it is probable, that in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside; the stationing of a small force for a certain period, in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment to them.

Thirty days from the commencement of this session, being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it

will not escape their observation, that not only the Inspector of the Revenue, but other officers of the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property. The obligation and policy of indemnifying them, are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of our citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great; and on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence, shall find a recompence in its liberality.

While there is cause to lament that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquility of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application, any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated that our prosperity rests on

solid foundations; by furnishing an additional proof, that my fellow-citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their inseparable union; that, notwithstanding all the devices that have been made use of to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions, as they were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage, the value of republican government, to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks as private foldiers; pre-eminently distinguishing by being the army of the constitution; undeterred by a march of three hundred miles, over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the Chief Magistrates of the States to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description, indeed, of citizens, let praise be given; but let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious



depository of American happiness, the Constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it too, for the sake of those, who, from every clime, are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when, in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection, let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government.

Having thus fulfilled the engagement which I took, when I entered into office, "to the best of my ability to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," on you, gentlemen, and the people by whom you are deputed, I rely for support.

In the arrangements to which the possibility of a similar contingency will naturally draw your attention, it ought not to be forgotten, that the militia laws have exhibited such striking defects, as could not have been supplied but

by the zeal of our citizens. Besides the extraordinary expenſe and waſte, which are not the leaſt of the defects, every appeal to thoſe laws is attended with a doubt of its ſucceſs.

The deviſing and eſtabliſhing of a well regulated militia, would be a genuine ſource of legiſlative honour, and a perfect title to public gratitude. I therefore entertain a hope, that the preſent ſeſſion will not paſs, without carrying to its full energy, the power of organizing arming and diſciplining the militia; and thus providing, in the language of the Conſtitution, for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, ſuppreſs inſurrection and repel invaſion.

As a uſiliary to the ſtate of our defence to which Congreſs cannot too frequently recur, they will not omit to inquire whether the fortifications which have been already liſenſed by law, be commenſurate with our exigencies.

The intelligence from the army under the command of General Wayne, is a happy preſage to our military operations againſt the hoſtile Indians north of the Ohio. From the ad-

vices which have been forwarded, the advance he has made must have damped the ardour of the savages, and weakened their obstinacy in waging war against the United States; and yet, even at this late hour, when our power to punish them cannot be questioned, we shall not be unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of candour, equity, and good neighbourhood.

Towards none of the Indian tribes have overtures of friendship been spared. The Creeks in particular are covered from encroachment by the interposition of the General Government, and that of Georgia. From a desire also to remove the discontents of the Six Nations, a settlement meditated at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, has been suspended; and an agent is now endeavouring to rectify any misconceptions into which they may have fallen. But I cannot refrain from again pressing upon your deliberations, the plan which I recommended at the last session, for the improvement of harmony within our limits, by the fixing and conducting of trading houses, upon the principles then expressed.



GENTLEMEN *of the* HOUSE *of*  
REPRESENTATIVES,

THE time has elapsed since the commencement of our fiscal measures, has developed our pecuniary resources, so as to open a way for a definitive plan for the redemption of our public debt. It is believed, that the result is such as to encourage Congress to consummate this work without delay. Nothing can more promote the permanent welfare of the nation, and nothing would be more grateful to our constituents. Indeed, whatsoever is unfinished of our system of public credit, cannot be benefited by procrastination; and, as far as may be practicable, we ought to place that credit on grounds which cannot be disturbed, and to prevent that progressive accumulation of debt, which must ultimately endanger all governments.

An estimate of the necessary appropriations, including the expenditures into which we have been driven by the insurrection, will be submitted to Congress.

**GENTLEMEN** *of the* **SENATE, and**  
**HOUSE** *of* **REPRESENTATIVES,**

The Mint of the United States has entered upon the coinage of the precious metals, and considerable sums of defective coins and bullion have been lodged with the director by individuals. There is a pleasing prospect, that the institution will, at no remote day, realize the expectation which was originally formed of its utility.

In subsequent communications, certain circumstances of our intercourse with foreign nations will be transmitted to Congress; however, it may not be unseasonable to announce, that my policy, in our foreign transactions, has been, to cultivate peace with all the world—to observe treaties with pure and absolute faith—to check every deviation from the line of impartiality—to explain what may have been misapprehended, and correct what may have been injurious to any nation; and having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done ourselves.

Let us unite, therefore, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of nations to spread his holy protection over these United States—to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our constitution—to enable us at all times to root out all internal sedition, and put invasion to flight—to perpetuate to our country that prosperity which his goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations of this government being a safeguard to human rights.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, Nov. 19, 1794.*

### Answer of the Senate.

S I R,

WE receive, with pleasure, your speech to the two Houses of congress. In it we perceive renewed proofs of that vigilant and paternal concern for the prosperity, honour and happiness of our country, which has uniformly distinguished your past administration.



Our anxiety, arising from the licentious and open resistance to the laws, in the western counties of Pennsylvania, has been increased by the proceedings of certain self-created societies, relative to the laws and administration of the government; proceedings, in our apprehension, founded in political error, calculated, if not intended, to disorganize our government, and which, by inspiring delusive hopes of support, have been influential in misleading our fellow-citizens in the scene of insurrection.

In a situation so delicate and important, the lenient and persuasive measures, which you adopted, merit and receive our affectionate approbation. These failing to procure their proper effects, and coercion having become inevitable; we have derived the highest satisfaction from the enlightened patriotism, and animating zeal, with which the citizens of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia have rallied around the standard of government, in opposition to anarchy and insurrection.

Our warm and cordial acknowledgments are due to you, Sir, for the wisdom and decision, with which you arrayed the militia, to

execute the public will; and to them, for the disinterestedness and alacrity with which they obeyed your summons.

The example is precious to the theory of our government, and confers the brightest honour upon the patriots who have given it.

We shall readily concur in such farther provisions for the security of internal peace, and a due obedience to the laws, as the occasion manifestly requires.

The effectual organization of the militia, and a prudent attention to the fortifications of our ports and harbours, are subjects of great national importance; and, together with the other measures you have been pleased to recommend, will receive our deliberate consideration.

The success of the troops, under the command of General Wayne, cannot fail to produce essential advantages. The pleasure, with which we acknowledge the merits of that gallant general and army, is enhanced by the hope, that their victories will lay the foundation for a speedy and durable peace with the Indian tribes.

At a period, so momentous in the affairs of nations, the temperate, just and firm policy, that you have pursued in respect to foreign powers, has been eminently calculated to promote the great and essential interests of our country, and has created the fairest title to the public gratitude and thanks.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

November 22, 1794.

### **The President's Reply.**

GENTLEMEN,

AMONG the occasions, which have been afforded for expressing my sense of the zealous and stedfast co-operation of the Senate, in the maintenance of government, none has yet occurred, more forcibly demanding my unqualified acknowledgments, than the present.



Next to the consciousness of upright intentions, it is the highest pleasure to be approved by the enlightened Representatives of a free nation. With the satisfaction, therefore, which arises from an unalterable attachment to public order, do I learn, that the Senate discountenances those proceedings, which would arrogate the direction of our affairs without any degree of authority derived from the people.

It has been more than once the lot of our government, to be thrown into new and delicate situations; and of these, the insurrection has not been the least important. Having been compelled, at length, to lay aside my repugnance to resort to arms, I derive much happiness, from being confirmed, by your judgment, in the necessity of decisive measures, and from the support of my fellow-citizens of the militia, who were the patriotic instruments of that necessity.

With such demonstrations of affection for our constitution—with an adequate organization of the militia—with the establishment of necessary fortifications—with a continuance of those judicious and spirited exertions, which brought

victory to our western army—with a due attention to public credit, and an unfulfilled honour towards all nations, we may meet, under every assurance of success, our enemies from within and from without.

G. WASHINGTON.

**Answer**

*Of the* HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

THE House of Representatives, calling to mind the blessings of the people of the United States, and especially the happiness of living under constitutions and laws, which rest on their authority alone, could not learn, with other emotions than those you have expressed, that any part of our fellow-citizens should have shewn themselves capable of an insurrection;

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and we learn with, with the greatest concern, that any misrepresentations, whatever, of the government and its proceedings, either by individuals, or combinations, of men, should have been made, and so far credited, as to foment the flagrant outrage, which has been committed on the laws.

We feel with you the deepest regret, at so painful an occurrence in the annals of our country. As men, regardful of the tender interests of humanity, we look with grief at scenes which have stained our land with civil blood. As lovers of public order, we lament that it has suffered so flagrant a violation. As zealous friends of a republican government, we deplore every occasion which, in the hands of its enemies, may be turned into calumny against it.

This aspect of the crisis, however, is happily not the only one which it presents. There is another which yields all the consolations which you have drawn from it. It has demonstrated to the candid world, as well as to the American people themselves, that the great body of them every where, are equally attached to the luminous and vital principal of our constitution,



which enjoins, that the will of the majority shall prevail; that they understand the indissoluble union between true liberty and regular government; that they feel their duties no less than they are watchful over their rights; that they will be as ready at all times to crush licentiousness, as they have been to defeat usurpation. In a word, that they are capable of carrying into execution that noble plan of self-government which they have chosen as the guarantee of their own happiness, and the affylum for that of all from every clime, who may wish to unite their destiny with ours.

These are the just inferences flowing from the promptitude with which the summons to the standard of the laws has been obeyed; and from the sentiments which have been witnessed in every description of citizens, in every quarter of the Union. The spectacle, therefore, when viewed in its true light may well be affirmed to display in equal lustre the virtues of the American character, and the value of Republican government. All must particularly acknowledge and applaud the patriotism of that portion of citizens, who have freely sacrificed every thing less dear than the love of their

country, to the meritorious task of defending its happiness.

In the part which you yourself have borne through this delicate and distressing period, we trace the additional proofs it has afforded of your solicitude for the public good. Your laudable and successful endeavours to render lenity in executing the laws conducive to their real energy, and to convert tumult into order, without the effusion of blood, form a particular title to the confidence and praise of your constituents. In all that may be found necessary, on our part to complete this benevolent purpose, and to secure the ministers and friends of the laws against the remains of danger, our due co-operation will be afforded.

The other subjects which you have recommended, or communicated, and of which several are particularly interesting, will all receive the attention which they demand. We are deeply impressed with the importance of effectual organization of the Militia.

We rejoice at the intilligence of the advance and success of the army under the command

of General Wayne. Whether we regard it as a proof of the perseverance, prowess and superiority of our troops, or as a happy presage to our military operations against the hostile Indians, as a probable prelude to the establishment of a lasting peace, upon terms of candour, equity and good neighbourhood—we receive it with the greater pleasure, as it increases the probability of sooner restoring a part of the public resources to the desirable object of reducing the public debt.

We shall on this, as on all occasions, be disposed to adopt any measure which may advance the safety and prosperity of our country.

In nothing can we more cordially unite with you than imploring the Supreme Ruler of Nations to multiply his blessings on the United States—to guard our free and happy Constitution against every machination and danger—and to make it the best source of public happiness, by verifying its character of being the best safeguard of human rights.



## The President's Reply:

GENTLEMEN,

I ANTICIPATED with confidence, the concurrence of the House of Representatives, in the regret produced by the insurrection. Every effort ought to be used to discountenance what has contributed to foment it, and thus discourage a repetition of like attempts. For notwithstanding the consolations which may be drawn from the issue of this event, it is far better that the artful approaches on such a situation of things should be checked by the vigilant and duly admonished patriotism of our fellow-citizens, than that the evil should increase until it become necessary to crush it by the strength of their arm.

I am happy that the part which I have myself borne on this occasion, receives the approbation of your house. For the discharge of a constitutional duty, it is a sufficient reward to

me to be assured that you will unite in consummating what remains to be done.

I feel also great satisfaction in learning that the other subjects which I have communicated or recommended, will meet with due attention; that you are deeply impressed with the importance of an effectual organization of the militia; and that the army under the command of General Wayne, is regarded by you, no less than myself, as a proof of the perseverance, prowess and superiority of our troops.

### G. WASHINGTON.

## Fourth Congress—*First Session.*



### The President's Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the* SENATE, and  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES.

**I** TRUST I do not deceive myself, while I indulge the persuasion, that I have never met you at any period, when, more than at the present, the situation of our public affairs has afforded just cause for mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expensive and distressing war, in which we have been engaged with certain Indians, north-west the



Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty, which the commander of our army has concluded provisionally, with the hostile tribes in that region.

In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object no less of the policy, than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquility. This object, it is believed, has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon, will immediately be laid before the Senate, for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-existing treaties with us; and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken. But we have to lament, that the fair prospect in this quarter, has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented to have been recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks; which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger; which will be

productive of further expense, and may occasion more effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages; and with the hope of their succeeding, at least to avert general hostility.

A letter from the Emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our Treaty, made with his father the late Emperor; and, consequently, the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add, that information has been received from an Agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing that the terms of the Treaty with the Dey and Regency of that country had been adjusted in such a manner, as to authorise the expectation of a speedy Peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow-citizens, from a greivous captivity.

The latest advices from our Envoy at the court of Madrid, give, moreover, the pleasing information, that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negociation. While the event depending upon unadjusted particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expect-

tation of an issue, which, securing amicably very essential interests of the United States, will at the same time, lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the House of Representatives, you, gentlemen, are all apprised, that a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain; and that the Senate have advised and consented to its ratification, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best judgment I was able to form of the public interest, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic Majesty, is unknown. When received, the subject will, without delay be placed before Congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs, with regard to the foreign powers, between whom the United States controversies have subsisted; and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbours with whom we have been



in a state of enmity or misunderstanding, open a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquility, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, shall be the happy result; how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid accelerating, maturing and establishing the prosperity of our country.

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting and calamitous; in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsion and insurrection; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings; while even the anticipations of a return of the blessings of peace and repose, are alloyed by the sense of heavy and accumu-

lating burthens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threatened to clog the future springs of government;—our favoured country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquility; a tranquility the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expence of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligation to others. Our agriculture, commerce and manufactures prosper beyond former example; the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made) being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity which, exceeding the most sanguine calculations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burthens so light as scarcely to be perceived; with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies; with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws;—is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled?

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgement to Heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong and improve, our immense advantages. To co-operate with you in this desirable work, is a fervent and favourite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient, in the general estimate of our welfare, that the part of our country, which was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection, now enjoys the blessings of quiet and order. The misled have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our constitution and laws which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society. These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to; and to extend forgiveness to those who had been adjudged to capital punishment. For though I shall always think it a sacred duty, to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested; yet it appears to me no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government every degree of mo-



deration and tenderness which the national justice, dignity and safety may permit.

GENTLEMEN,

AMONG the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change the relative situation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtless allow due weight to the considerations, that the questions between us and certain foreign powers, are not yet finally adjusted; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated; and that our Western Posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our present military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment is naturally established that of the militia. It

will merit enquiry, what imperfections in the existing plan, further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude, that the consideration of it may be renewed, till the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction, which the actual condition of the western borders so well authorizes, it is necessary that we should not loose sight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations, namely, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians, from the violences of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity; and it can need no argument to prove, that unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertions of the government to prevent destructive retaliations, by the Indians, will prove fruitless,

and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity; and an enormous expense, to drain the treasury of the Union.

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of Congress; and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians, on reasonable terms, (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them, they urge it with solicitude) I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tranquility permanent. I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization, is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made, under the auspices of government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.



**GENTLEMEN of the HOUSE of  
REPRESENTATIVES,**

THE state of our revenue, with the sums which have been borrowed and re-imbursed, pursuant to different acts of Congress, will be submitted from the proper departments; together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be adviseable to re-inforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination, Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of the public debt, accords as much with the true interest of our country as with the general sense of our constituents.

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE  
*and of the* HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

THE statements which will be laid before you relative to the Mint, will shew the situation of that institution; and the necessity of some further legislative provisions, for carrying the business of it more completely into effect, and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them; the state of the fortifications of our harbours; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper scites for arsenals, and for replenishing our magazines with military stores; and the steps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians, will likewise be presented for the information of Congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects which may arise in the course of the sessi-

on; and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

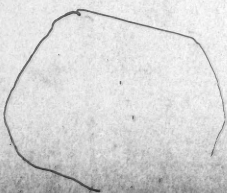
G. WASHINGTON;

*United States, Dec. 8, 1795.*

### Answer of the Senate.

S I R,

IT is with peculiar satisfaction that we are informed by your Speech to the two Houses of Congress, that the long and expensive war, in which we have been engaged with the Indians north west of the Ohio, is in a situation to be finally terminated; and though we view with concern the danger of an interruption of the peace so recently confirmed with the Creeks, we indulge the hope, that the measure you have adopted to prevent the same if followed by





those legislative provisions that the justice and humanity equally demand, will succeed in laying the foundation of a lasting peace with the Indian tribes, on the Southern as well as on the Western frontiers.

The confirmation of our treaty with Morocco, and the adjustment of a treaty of peace with Algiers, in consequence of which our captive fellow-citizens shall be delivered from slavery, are events that will prove no less interesting to the public humanity, than they will be important in extending and securing the navigation and commerce of our country.

As a just and equitable conclusion of our depending negotiations with Spain will essentially advance the interest of both nations, and thereby cherish and confirm the good understanding and friendship which we have at all times desired to maintain, it will afford us real pleasure to receive an early confirmation of our expectations on this subject.

The interesting prospect of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have sub-

fisted, is not more satisfactory, than the review of our internal situations; if from the former we derive an expectation of the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, that have heretofore endangered our tranquility, and on terms consistent with our national honour and safety; in the latter we discover those numerous and wide-spread tokens of prosperity, which in so peculiar a manner distinguish our happy country.

Circumstances thus every way auspicious, demand our gratitude and sincere acknowledgment to Almighty God, and require that we would unite our efforts in imitation of your enlightened, firm, and persevering example, to establish and preserve the peace, freedom, and prosperity of our country.

The objects which you have recommended to the notice of the Legislature, will, in the course of the session, receive our careful attention; and with a true zeal for the public welfare, we

shall cheerfully co-operate in every measure that shall appear to us best calculated to promote the same.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

December 12, 1795.



### *The President's Reply.*

GENTLEMEN,

WITH real pleasure I receive your address, recognizing the prosperous situation of our public affairs, and giving assurances of your careful attention to the objects demanding legislative consideration: and that with a true zeal for the public welfare, you will cheerfully co-operate in every measure which shall appear to you best calculated to promote the same.

But I derive peculiar satisfaction from your concurrence with me in expressions of gratitude to Almighty God which a review of auspicious circumstances that distinguish our happy coun-



try have excited; and I trust that the sincerity of our acknowledgements will be evinced by a union of efforts to establish and preserve peace, freedom and prosperity.

G. WASHINGTON.

### Answer

#### *Of the* HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.

S I R,

AS the Representatives of the People of the United States, we cannot but participate in the strongest sensibility to every blessing which they enjoy, and cheerfully join with you in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings which he has conferred on our favoured country.

A final and former termination of the distressing war which has ravaged our northwestern frontier, will be an event which must

afford a satisfaction proportioned to the anxiety with which it has long been sought ; and in the adjustment of the terms, we perceive the true policy of making them satisfactory to the Indians, as well as to the United States, as the best basis of a durable tranquility. The disposition of such of the southern tribes, as had also heretofore annoyed our frontier, is another prospect in our situation so important to the interest and happiness of the United States, that it is much to be lamented that any clouds should be thrown over it, more especially by excesses on the part of our own citizens.

While our population is advancing with a celerity which exceeds the most sanguine calculations—while every part of the United States displays indications of rapid and various improvements—while we are in the enjoyment of protection and security, by mild and wholesome laws, administered by governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, a secure foundation will be laid for accelerating maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country, if, by treaty and amicable negotiation, all those causes of external discord which heretofore menaced our tranquility

shall be extinguished on terms compatable with our national rights and honour, and with our constitutional, and great commercial interests.

Among the various circumstances in our internal situation, none can be viewed with more satisfaction and exultation, than that the late scene of disorder and insurrection, has been completely restored to the enjoyment of order and repose. Such a triumph of reason and of law, is worthy of the free government under which it happened, and was justly to be hoped from the enlightened and patriotic spirit which pervades and actuates the people of the United States.

In contemplating that spectacle of national happiness which our country exhibits, and of which, you, Sir, have been pleased to make an interesting summary, permit us to acknowledge and declare the very great share which your zealous and faithful services have contributed to it, and to express the affectionate attachment which we feel for your character,

The several interesting subjects which you recommend to our consideration will receive



every degree of attention which is due to them and whilst we feel the obligation of temperance and mutual indulgence in all our discussions, we trust and pray that the result to the happiness and welfare of our country may correspond with the pure affection we bear to it.

### The President's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

COMING as you do from all parts of the United States, I receive great satisfaction from the concurrence of your testimony in the justness of the interesting summary of our national happiness, which, as the result of my inquiries, I presented to your view. The sentiments we have mutually expressed of profound gratitude to the source of those numerous blessings, the author of all good, are pledges of our obligations to unite our sincere and zealous endeavours, as the instruments of Divine Providence, to preserve and perpetuate them.

Accept, gentlemen, my thanks for your declaration, that to my agency you ascribe the enjoyment of a great share of these benefits. So far as my services contribute to the happiness of my country, the acknowledgment thereof by my fellow-citizens, and their affectionate attachment, will ever prove an abundant reward.

G. WASHINGTON.

ANNAPOLIS, DEC. 23, 1783.

GENERAL WASHINGTON having informed Congress of his intention to resign the commission he had the honour to hold in their service, during the Revolutionary War, they resolved that it should be done in a public audience; and appointed this day for the interesting scene. At a proper moment, Gen. WASHINGTON appeared, and addressed the President in the following words:—

“MR. PRESIDENT,

“THE great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands, the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of



becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“ The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“ While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services, and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war: it was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate: permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

“ I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interest of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

“ Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT RETURNED THE  
FOLLOWING ANSWER:

“ THE United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

“ Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

“ You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes : you have by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity ; you have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just providence, to close the war in freedom, safety and independence ; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

“ Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world — having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessing of your fellow citizens, but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will



continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

“ We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation ; and for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care : that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.”

T H E

**President's Address**

T O T H E

***PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.*****ANNOUNCING HIS INTENTION OF RETIRING  
FROM PUBLIC SERVICE.****FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,**

**T**HE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression

of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from



which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the

inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, as an

instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.



Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which, cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his council. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice

of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insiduously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion; manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the producti-



ons of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *South* in the same intercourse, benefitting by the Agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated;—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted.—The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—The *West* derives from the *East*, supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*.—Any other tenure by which the

*West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations;—and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from these broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty; in

this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of a patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of se-



rious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *Geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations—they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of the policy in the General Government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard of the *Mississippi*; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great

Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations; towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable—No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitable experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of

its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government—But, the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of



the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of fashion, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon

its principles however specious the pretext.—  
One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown, In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. In is indeed little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and so maintain all in

the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate denomination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism.—The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the



minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual : and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the

departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in a way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.—The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.



Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens.—The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that

is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge—In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear.—The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.—To facilitate to them the performance of their duty,

it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue: that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation



with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices!

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and a-

adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one of the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to the concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray or sacri-

sice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial



else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even to second the arts of influence on the other.—Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial

ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities,

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance: when we take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us; will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences: consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed in order to give trade a stable course, to define



the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances, shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But if I may even flat-

ter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good ; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism ; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles that have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your



own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error: I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness, in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who

views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations ; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, }  
17th September, 1796. }

MESSAGE of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES to the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES, *negating an Act for an apportionment of Representatives, among the several States.*

GENTLEMEN of the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES,

I HAVE maturely considered the act passed by the two Houses, intituled, "An act for the apportionment of Representatives among the several States, according to the first enumeration;" and I return it to your House, wherein it originated, with the following objections:

*First.* The Constitution has prescribed, that Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers; and there is no one proportion or divisor, which, applied to the respective numbers of the States, will yield the number and allotment of Representatives proposed by the bill.



*Second.* The Constitution has also provided, that the number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; which restriction is, by the context, and by fair and obvious construction, to be applied to the separate and respective numbers of the States: And the bill has allotted to eight of the States more than one for every thirty thousand.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, April 5th, 1792.*

*A MESSAGE of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, to CONGRESS, relative to France and Great-Britain.*

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE, *and of the*  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES,

As the present situation of the several nations of Europe, and especially of those with which the United States have important relations, cannot but render the state of things between them and us, matter of interesting inquiry to the legislature, and may indeed give rise to deliberations, to which they alone are competent, I have thought it my duty to communicate to them, certain correspondencies, which have taken place

The representative and executive bodies of France have manifested generally, a friendly

attach ment to this country, have given advantages to our commerce and navigation, and have made overtures for placing these advantages on permanent ground; a decree, however, of the National Assembly, subjecting vessels laden with provisions to be carried into their ports, and making enemy goods lawful prize in the vessel of a friend, contrary to our treaty, though revoked at one time, as to the United States, has been since extended to their vessels also, -as has been recently stated to us. Representations on the subject will be immediately given in charge to our minister there, and the result shall be communicated to the legislature.

It is with extreme concern, I have to inform you, that the proceedings of the person, whom they have unfortunately appointed their minister plenipotentiary here, have breathed nothing of the friendly spirit of the nation, which sent him; their tendency, on the contrary, has been to involve us in war abroad, and discord and anarchy at home. So far as his acts, or those of his agents, have threatened our immediate commitment in the war, or flagrant insult to the authority of the laws, their effect has been counteracted by the ordinary cognizance of the



laws, and by an exertion of the powers confided to me. Where their danger was not imminent, they have been borne with, from sentiments of regard to his nation; from a sense of their friendship towards us; from a conviction, that they would not suffer us to remain long exposed to the action of a person, who has so little respected our mutual dispositions; and, I will add, from a reliance on the firmness of my fellow-citizens in their principles of peace and order.

In the mean time, I have respected and pursued the stipulations of our treaties, according to what I judged their true sense; and have withheld no act of friendship, which their affairs have called for, from us, and which justice to others, left us free to perform. I have gone further; rather than employ force for the restitution of certain vessels, which I deemed the United States bound to restore, I thought it more advisable to satisfy the parties, by avowing it to be my opinion, that if restitution were not made, it would be incumbent on the United States to make compensation. The papers now communicated, will more particularly apprise you of these transactions.

The vexations and spoliation understood to have been committed on our vessels and commerce, by the cruisers and officers of some of the belligerent powers, appeared to require attention. The proofs of these, however, not having been brought forward, the description of citizens, supposed to have suffered, were notified, that on furnishing them to the executive, due measures would be taken to obtain redress of the past, and more effectual provisions against the future. Should such documents be furnished, proper representations will be made thereon, with a just reliance on a redress proportioned to the exigency of the case.

The British government having undertaken, by orders to the commanders of their armed vessels, to restrain, generally, our commerce, in corn and other provisions, to their own ports, and those of their friends, the instructions now communicated, were immediately forwarded to our minister at that court. In the mean time, some discussions on the subject took place between him and them: These are also laid before you, and I may expect to learn the result of his special instructions, in time to make it known to the legislature, during their present session.

Very early after the arrival of a British minister here, mutual explanations on the inexecution of the treaty of peace, were entered into, with that minister; these are now laid before you, for your information.

On the subjects of mutual interest between this country and Spain, negotiations and conferences are now depending. The public good requiring that the present state of these should be made known to the legislature, *in confidence only*, they shall be the subject of a separate and subsequent communication.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,  
December 5th, 1793. }



MESSAGE of the PRESIDENT to the SENATE, nominating Mr. JAY, Envoy Extraordinary of the United States, to his Britannic Majesty.

GENTLEMEN of the SENATE,

THE communications which I have made to you during your present session, from the dispatches of our minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great-Britain. But as peace ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, is contemplated, I have thought proper to nominate and do hereby nominate John Jay, as envoy extraordinary of the United States, to his Britannic Majesty. My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London, continues undiminished; but a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the

world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an Envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, April 16th, 1794.*

MESSAGE *of the* PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES, *to both Houses of* CONGRESS, *respecting the Territories of Spain.*

GENTLEMEN *of the* SENATE, *and of the* HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES.

**I**N the communications which I have made to Congress, during the present session, relative to foreign nations, I have omitted no opportunity of testifying my anxiety to preserve the United States in peace. It is peculiarly, therefore, my duty, at this time, to lay before you, the present state of certain hostile threats against the territories of Spain, in our neighbourhood.

The documents which accompany this message, develop the measures which I have taken to suppress them, and the intelligence which has been lately received.



It will be seen from thence, that the subject has not been neglected; that every power vested in the Executive, on such occasions, has been exerted; and that there was reason to believe, that the enterprize projected against the Spanish dominions, was relinquished.

But it appears to have been revived, upon principles, which set public order at defiance, and place the peace of the United States in the discretion of unauthorized individuals. The means already deposited in the different departments of government, are shewn, by experience, not to be adequate to these high exigencies, although such of them, as are lodged in the hands of the Executive, shall continue to be used with promptness, energy and decision, proportioned to the case. But I am impelled, by the position of our public affairs, to recommend that provision be made for a stronger and more vigorous opposition than can be given to such hostile movements under the laws, as they now stand.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States. May 20th, 1794.*

**Important and Interesting Message**

*Of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES  
to the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES,  
in consequence of their requesting the papers re-  
lative to the British Treaty.*

**GENTLEMEN of the HOUSE of  
REPRESENTATIVES,**

**W**ITH the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th inst. requesting me to lay before your house a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negociated the treaty with the king of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negociation may render improper to be disclosed.

In deliberating on this subject, it was impossible for me to loose sight of the principle which some have avowed in its discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the constitution has enjoined upon the President as a duty to give, or which could be required of him by either house of Congress as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes, to "preserve, protect, and defend the constitution," will permit.

The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution; and their success must often depend on secrecy, and even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands or eventual concessions which may



have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences; perhaps danger and mischief, in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate; the principle on which that body was formed, confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the House of Representatives, to demand, and to have, as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

It does not occur, that the inspection of the papers asked for, can be relative to any purpose under the cognizance of the House of Representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat, that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public good shall require, to be disclosed; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great-Britain, were

laid before the Senate, when the treaty itself was communicated for their consideration and advice.

The course which the debate has taken on the resolution of the House, leads to some observations on the mode of making treaties under the Constitution of the United States.

Having been a member of the General Convention, and knowing the principles on which the Constitution was formed, I have ever entertained but one opinion on this subject; and from the first establishment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and that every treaty so made and promulgated, thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty making power has been understood by foreign nations; and in all treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, they became obligatory. In this con-

struction of the Constitution, every House of Representatives has heretofore acquiesced; and until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced; for until now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

There is also reason to believe that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the State Conventions, when they were deliberating on the Constitution; especially by those who objected to it, because there was not required in *commercial treaties* the consent of two-thirds of the whole Senate, instead of two-thirds of the Senators present; and because in treaties respecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both Houses respectively was not made necessary.

It is a fact declared by the General Convention, and universally understood, that the Constitution of the United States was the result of



a spirit of amity and mutual concession. And it is well known that under this influence, the smaller States were admitted to an equal representation in Senate, with the larger States; and that this branch of the government was invested with great powers; for on the equal participation of those powers the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller States were deemed essentially to depend.

If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the Constitution itself be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the General Convention, which I have deposited in the office of the department of state. In those journals it will appear that a proposition was made, "that no treaty should be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law;" and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with *Great-Britain* exhibits, in itself, all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on which these papers

called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution, between the different departments should be preserved—a just regard to the Constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, March 30, 1796.*

*A MESSAGE from the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to CONGRESS; relative to the French Republic.*

GENTLEMEN of the SENATE, and of the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES,

AT the opening of the present Session of Congress I mentioned that some circumstances of an unwelcome nature had lately occurred in relation to France; that our trade had suffered and was suffering extensive injuries in the West-Indies from the cruisers and agents of the French Republic; and that communications had been received from its Minister here which indicated danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority, and that were in other respects far from agreeable: but that I reserved for a special message a more particular communication on this interesting subject. This communication I now make.



The complaints of the French Minister embraced most of the transactions of our government in relation to France from an early period of the present war; which therefore it was necessary carefully to review. A collection has been formed of letters and papers relating to those transactions, which I now lay before you, with a letter to Mr. Pinckney, our Minister at Paris, containing an examination of the notes of the French Minister, and such information as I thought might be useful to Mr. Pinckney in any further representations he might find necessary to be made to the French Government. The immediate object of his mission was to make to that Government such explanations of the principles and conduct of our own, as by manifesting our good faith might remove all jealousy and discontent, and maintain that harmony and good understanding with the French Republic which it has been my constant solicitude to preserve. A government which required only a knowledge of the *truth* to justify its measures, could not but be anxious to have this fully and frankly displayed.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, Jan. 19, 1797.*

MESSAGE *from the* PRESIDENT *of the*  
UNITED STATES, *to the* HOUSE *of*  
REPRESENTATIVES, *negating the Act*  
*for disbanding the Army.*

GENTLEMEN *of the*  
HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES.

HAVING maturely considered the bill, to alter an amend and act, intituled, "An act to ascertain and fix the military establishment of the United States," which was presented to me on the twenty-second day of this month, I now return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objections.

*First.* If the bill passes into a law, the two companies of light dragoons will be, from that moment *legally* out of service; though they will afterwards *actually* continue in service; and for their services during this interval, namely, from

the time of *legal* to the time of actual discharge, it will not be lawful to pay them, unless some future provision be made by law. Though they may be discharged at the pleasure of Congress, in justice, they ought to receive their pay, not only to the time of passing the law, but at the least, to the time of their actual discharge.

*Secondly.* It will be inconvenient and injurious to the public, to dismiss the light dragoons, as soon as notice of the law can be conveyed to them; one of the companies having been lately destined to a necessary and important service.

*Thirdly.* The companies of light dragoons, consist of one hundred and twenty-six non-commissioned officers and privates, who are bound to serve as dismounted dragoons when ordered so to do: They have received, in bounties, about two thousand dollars; one of them is completely equipped, and above half of the non-commissioned officers and privates have yet to serve more than one third of the time of their enlistment; and besides, there will, in the course of the year, be a considerable deficiency in the complement of infantry intended to be continued. Under these circumstances, to discharge



the dragoons, does not seem to comport with œconomy.

*Fourthly.* It is generally agreed, that some cavalry, either militia or regular, will be necessary; and according to the best information I have been able to obtain, it is my opinion, that the latter will be less expensive and more useful than the former, in preserving peace between the frontier settlers and the Indians; and, therefore, a part of the military establishment should consist of cavalry.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, Feb. 28th, 1797.*

BY THE  
PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of  
AMERICA.

## A PROCLAMATION.

**W**HEREAS it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great-Britain, and the United Netherlands, of the one part, and France on the other, and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers

I have therefore thought fit by these presents to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those powers respectively; and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition.

And I do hereby also make known that whosoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or for-

feiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding or abetting hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles which are deemed contraband by the *modern* usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States, against such punishment or forfeiture: and further, that I have given instructions to those officers, to whom it belongs, to cause prosecutions to be instituted against all persons, who shall, within the cognizance of the courts of the United States, violate the Law of Nations, with respect to the powers at war, or any of them.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

(L. S.) Done at the city of Philadelphia, the twenty-second day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the seventeenth.

G. WASHINGTON.

*By the President,*

TH: JEFFERSON.



BY THE  
PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of  
AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

**W**HEREAS combinations to defeat the execution of the laws laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States and upon stills, have from the time of the commencement of those laws existed in some of the western parts of Pennsylvania. And whereas the said combinations, proceeding in a manner subversive equally of the just authority of government and of the rights of individuals have hitherto effected their dangerous and criminal purpose; by the influence of certain irregular meetings whose proceedings have tended to encourage and uphold the spirit of opposition, by misrepresentations of the laws calculated to render them odious, by endeavours to deter those who might be so disposed from accepting,

offices under them, through fear of public resentment and of injury to person and property, and to compel those who had accepted such offices by actual violence to surrender or forbear the execution of them;—by circulating vindictive menaces against all those who should otherwise directly or indirectly aid in the execution of the said laws, or who, yielding to the dictates of conscience and to a sense of obligation should themselves comply therewith, by actually injuring and destroying the property of persons who were understood to have so complied;—by inflicting cruel and humiliating punishments upon private citizens for no other cause than that of appearing to be the friends of the laws;—by intercepting the public officers on the high ways, abusing, assaulting and otherwise ill treating them;—by going to their houses in the night, gaining admittance by force, taking away their papers and committing other outrages; employing for these unwarrantable purposes the agency of armed banditti, disguised in such manner as for the most part to escape discovery: And whereas the endeavours of the Legislature to obviate objections to the said laws, by lowering the duties and by other alterations conducive to the convenience of



those whom they immediately affect, (though they have given satisfaction in other quarters) and the endeavours of the executive officers to conciliate a compliance with the laws, by explanations, by forbearance and even by particular accommodations founded on the suggestion of local considerations, have been disappointed of their effect by the machinations of persons whose industry to excite resistance has increased with every appearance of a disposition among the people to relax in their opposition and to acquiesce in the laws: Insomuch that many persons in the said western parts of Pennsylvania have at length been hardy enough to perpetrate acts which I am advised amount to treason, being overt acts of levying war against the United States; the said persons having on the sixteenth and seventeenth of July last past proceeded in arms (on the second day amounting to several hundreds) to the house of John Neville, inspector of the revenue for the fourth survey of the district of Pennsylvania, having repeatedly attacked the said house with the persons therein wounding some of them;—having seized David Lenox, marshal of the district of Pennsylvania, who previous thereto had been fired upon, while in the execution of his duty,



by a party of armed men, detaining him for some time prisoner, till for the preservation of his life and the obtaining of his liberty he found it necessary to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of certain official duties touching processes issuing out of a court of the United States. And having finally obliged the said inspector of the revenue and the said marshal from considerations of personal safety to fly from that part of the country, in order by a circuitous route to proceed to the seat of government; avowing as the motives of these outrageous proceedings an intention to prevent by force of arms the execution of the said laws, to oblige the said inspector of the revenue to renounce his said office, to withstand by open violence the lawful authority of the government of the United States, and to compel thereby an alteration in the measures of the Legislature and a repeal of the laws aforesaid. And whereas by a law of the United States, intituled, "An act to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions," it is enacted, "that whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed or the execution thereof obstructed in any State by combinations too powerful to be

suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by that act, the same being notified by an associate justice or the district judge, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such State to suppress such combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed. And if the militia of a State where such combinations may happen shall refuse or be insufficient to suppress the same, it shall be lawful for the President, if the Legislature of the United States shall not be in session, to call forth and employ such numbers of the militia of any other State or States most convenient thereto, as may be necessary, and the use of the militia so to be called forth may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the ensuing session: Provided always, that whenever it may be necessary in the judgment of the President to use the military force hereby directed to be called forth, the President shall forthwith and previous thereto, by Proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time." And whereas, James Wilson, an associate justice, on the fourth instant, by writ-



ing under his hand, did, from evidence which has been laid before him, notify to me that "in the counties of Washington and Alleghany in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshal of that district. And whereas it is in my judgment, necessary under the circumstances of the case, to take measures for calling forth the militia, in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed—and, I have accordingly determined so to do, feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but withal, the most solemn conviction, that the essential interests of the Union demand it—that the very existence of government, and the fundamental principles of social order, are materially involved in the issue; and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens are seriously called upon, as occasion may require, to aid in the effectual suppression of so fatal a spirit.

Wherefore, and in pursuance of the Proviso above recited, I George Washington, President of the United States, do hereby command all



persons, being insurgents as aforesaid, and all others whom it may concern, on or before the first day of September next, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes. And I do moreover, warn all persons whomsoever, against aiding, abetting or comforting the perpetrators of the aforesaid treasonable acts: And do require all officers and other citizens, according to their respective duties and the laws of the land, to exert their utmost endeavours to prevent and suppress such dangerous proceedings.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these Presents, and signed the same with my hand.

(L. S.) Done at the city of Philadelphia the seventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the seventeenth.

G. WASHINGTON.

*By the President,*

E. RANDOLPH.

*True Copy,*

GEO. TAYLOR, Jun.

BY THE  
PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of  
AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

**W**HEREAS from a hope, that the combinations against the Constitution and Laws of the United States in certain of the western counties in Pennsylvania would yield to time and reflection, I thought it sufficient, in the first instance, rather to *take measures* for calling forth the militia, than immediately to *embody* them;—but the moment is now come, when the overtures of forgiveness with no other condition, than a submission to law, have been only partially accepted—when every form of conciliation, not inconsistent with the being of government, has been adopted without effect;—when the well disposed, in those counties, are unable by their influence and example to reclaim the wicked from their fury, and are compelled to associate in their own defence;—when the proffered lenity has been perversely misinterpreted into an apprehension, that the citizens will march with reluctance;—when the opportunity of examining the serious consequences of a treasonable opposition has been employed in propagating



principles of anarchy, endeavouring through emissaries to alienate the friends of order from its support, and inviting its enemies to perpetrate similar acts of insurrection;—when it is manifest, that violence would continue to be exercised upon every attempt to enforce the laws;—when therefore government is set at defiance, the contest being whether a small portion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union, and at the expense of those, who desire peace, indulge a desperate ambition. Now therefore, I George Washington, President of the United States, in obedience to that high and irresistible duty consigned to me by the Constitution “to take care that the laws be faithfully executed;”—deploring that the American name should be sullied by the outrages of citizens on their own government;—commiserating such, as remain obstinate from delusion;—but resolved in perfect reliance on that gracious Providence which so signally displays its goodness towards this country, to reduce the refractory to a due subordination to the law;—do hereby declare and make known, that with a satisfaction, which can be equalled only by the merits of the militia, summoned into service from the States of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, I have received intelligence of



their patriotic alacrity, in obeying the call of the present, though painful, yet commanding necessity; that a force, which according to every reasonable expectation is adequate to the exigency, is already in motion to the scene of disaffection; that those who have confided, or shall confide in the protection of government, shall meet full succour under the standard, and from the arms of the United States; that those who having offended against the law have since intitled themselves to indemnity will be treated with the most liberal good faith, if they shall not have forfeited their claim by any subsequent conduct; and that instructions are given accordingly. And I do moreover exhort all individuals, officers, and body of men, to contemplate with abhorrence the measures, leading directly or indirectly to those crimes, which produce this resort to military coercion; to check, in their respective spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men to substitute their misrepresentations in the place of truth and their discontents in the place of stable government; and to call to mind, that as the people of the United States have been permitted under the divine favor, in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, and in an enlightened

age, to elect their own government; so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best distinguished by firm exertions to maintain the Constitution and the laws. And lastly, I again warn all persons whomsoever and wheresoever, not to abet, aid or comfort the insurgents aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril; and I do also require all officers and other citizens according to their several duties, as far as may be in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the law all offenders in the premises.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

(L. S.) Done at the city of Philadelphia, the twenty-fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

G. WASHINGTON.

*By the President,*

EDM: RANDOLPH.

*True Copy,*

GEO. TAYLOR, Jun.

BY THE  
PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of  
AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEN we review the calamities which afflict so many other nations, the present condition of the United States affords much matter of consolation and satisfaction. Our exemption hitherto from foreign war, an increasing prospect of the continuance of that exemption, the great degree of internal tranquility we have enjoyed, the recent confirmation of that tranquility by the suppression of an insurrection which so wantonly threatened it, the happy course of our public affairs in general, the unexampled prosperity of all classes of our citizens—are circumstances which peculiarly mark our situation with indications of the Divine Beneficence towards us---In such a state of things, it is, in an especial manner, our duty as a people, with devout reverence and affectionate gratitude, to acknowledge our many and great



obligations to ALMIGHTY GOD, and to implore him to continue and confirm the blessings we experience.

Deeply penetrated with this sentiment, I George Washington, President of the United States, do recommend to all religious societies and denominations, and to all persons whomsoever within the United States, to set apart and observe Thursday the nineteenth day of February next as a day of Public Thanksgiving and Prayer; and on that day to meet together and render their sincere and hearty thanks to the Great Ruler of Nations for the manifold and signal mercies, which distinguish our lot as a Nation: Particularly for the possession of constitutions of government which unite, and by their union establish liberty with order; for the preservation of our peace, foreign and domestic, for the seasonable controul which has been given to a spirit of disorder in the suppression of the late insurrection, and generally for the prosperous course of our affairs public and private; and at the same time humbly and fervently to beseech the Kind Author of these blessings graciously to prolong them to us—to imprint on our hearts a deep and solemn sense

of our obligations to him for them; to teach us rightly to estimate their immense value; to preserve us from the arrogance of prosperity, and from hazarding the advantages we enjoy by delusive pursuits; to dispose us to merit the continuance of his favours, by not abusing them, by our gratitude for them, and by a correspondent conduct as citizens and as men—to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries; to extend among us true and useful knowledge; to diffuse and establish habits of sobriety, order, morality and piety; and finally to impart all the blessings we possess, or ask for ourselves, to the whole family of mankind.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

(L. S.) Done at the city of Philadelphia, the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

G. WASHINGTON.

*By the President,*

EDM: RANDOLPH.

*Letter to the Secretary of State, declaring certain letters ascribed to General WASHINGTON, to be forgeries.*

PHILADELPHIA, 3d March, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

AT the conclusion of my public employments, I have thought it expedient to notice the publication of certain forged letters, which first appeared in the year 1777, and were obtruded upon the public as mine. They are said by the editor to have been found in a small portmanteau that I had left in the care of my mulatto servant, named Billy, who it is pretended, was taken prisoner at Fort Lee. in 1776.

The period when these letters were first printed, will be recollected, and what were the impressions they were intended to produce on the public mind. It was then supposed to be of some consequence to strike at the integrity of the motives of the American Commander in Chief, and to paint his inclinations as at



variance with his profession, and his duty. Another crisis in the affairs of America having occurred, the same weapon has been resorted to, to wound my character and deceive the people.

The letters in question have the dates, addresses and signatures here following.

"New-York, June 12th, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington, at Mount Vernon, Fairfax county, Virginia." "G. W."

"To John Parke Custis, Esq. at the Hon. Benedict Calvert's Esq. Mount Airy, Maryland," June 18th, 1776. "G. W."

"New-York, July 8th, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington, at Mount Vernon, Fairfax county, Virginia." "G. W."

"New-York, July 16th, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington, &c." "G. W."

"New-York, July 15th, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington, &c." "G. W."

"New-York, July 22d, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington, &c." "G. W."

June 24th, 1776. To Mrs. Washington, &c." "G. W."

At the time when these letters first appeared, it was notorious to the army immediately under my command, and particularly to the gentlemen attached to my person, that my mulatto man Billy had never been one moment in the power of the enemy. It is also a fact, that no part of my baggage or any of my other attendants were captured during the whole course of the war. These well known facts, made it unnecessary during the war, to call the public attention to the forgery, by any express declaration of mine: and a firm reliance on my fellow-citizens, and the abundant proofs they gave of their confidence in me, rendered it alike unnecessary to take any formal notice of the revival of the imposition during my civil administration. But as I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty that I owe to myself, to my country, and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited, and to add my solemn declaration, that the letters herein described are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them, until they appeared in print.

The present letter I commit to your care,

and desire it may be deposited in the office of the Department of State, as a testimony of the truth to the present generation and to posterity.

Accept, I pray you, the sincere esteem and affectionate regard of, dear sir, your obedient humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

TIMOTHY PICKERING,

*Secretary of State.*



GEN. WASHINGTON'S LETTER,  
ON HIS ACCEPTING THE COMMAND OF THE  
AMERICAN ARMY IN 1798,

*Mount Vernon, July 13, 1798.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honour, on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hand of the secretary of war, your favour of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed me "Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of all armies raised, or to be raised, for the service of the United States."

I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication; at the same time, I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

You know, sir, what calculation I had made relative to the probable course of events, on

my retiring from office, and the determination I had consoled myself with, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode ; you will, therefore, be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion, that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble and high responsibility.

It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions.

The conduct of the Directory of France towards our country ; their insidious hostility to its government ; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it ; the evident tendency of their acts , and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition ; their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations ; their war upon our defenceless commerce ; their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments, with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate



addresses to you. Believe me, sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

Satisfied thereof, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to heaven for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favoured the people of these United States.

Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander in chief of the armies of the United States; with this reserve only, that I shall



not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

In making this reservation, I beg it may be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense.

The secretary of war being anxious to return to the seat of government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication upon the several points he had in charge.

With very great respect and consideration, I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS,  
*President of the United States.*

EULOGIUM,  
ON THE CHARACTER OF  
GENERAL WASHINGTON,

L A T E  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES;

*Pronounced at the request*  
OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY

O F T H E  
C I N C I N N A T I,  
BEFORE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
AND THE MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS;  
ON THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF FEBRUARY, EIGHTEEN HUNDRED,  
IN THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH,  
PHILADELPHIA.

---

By MAJOR WILLIAM JACKSON,  
AID-DE-CAMP TO THE LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
AND SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE CINCINNATI.

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" Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honestè factis veritas  
sufficit. PLIN. EPIST.

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NEW EDITION.

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*Philadelphia;*

PRINTED BY JOHN ORMROD, No. 41, CHESNUT.

.....  
1800.

# BULLOGIUM.

OF THE CHURCH OF

CENTRAL WASHINGTON

AND THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES

OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY

OF THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES

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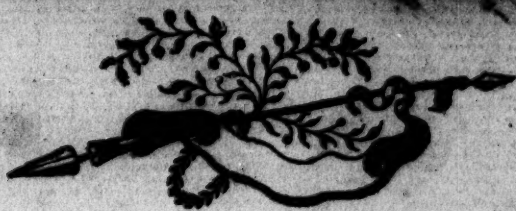
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At a meeting of the Pennsylvania Society of  
the CINCINNATI held at the State-house,  
on the 22d of February, 1800.

MAJOR GENERAL EDWARD HAND, President.

The following resolution was moved, and unanimously adopted.

*Resolved,* That the thanks of this Society, be presented to MAJOR  
WILLIAM JACKSON, for the honor done the Society, by the very  
elegant and appropriate Eulogium, which he this day delivered before  
the Society, on the character of GENERAL WASHINGTON, our late  
illustrious President General; and that he be requested to favor the  
Society with a copy thereof for publication.

*By order of the Society,*

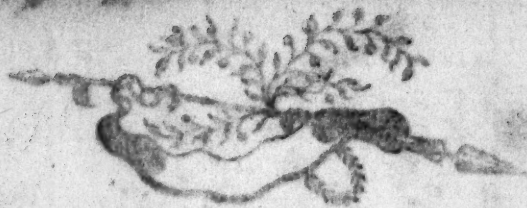
M. M'CONNELL,

*Assistant Secretary.*

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MAJOR WILLIAM JACKSON, having politely presented the copy-right of  
the following Eulogium to the subscriber, it is secured agreeably to the Act of Congress.

J. ORMRQD.



TO  
At a meeting of the Pennsylvania Society of  
the City of Philadelphia  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sir,

*In offering to your conservation the following eulogium on the character of GENERAL WASHINGTON, I render homage to that sympathy, which has endeared your conduct to the citizens of the United States---And I do justice to the friendship, which connected you with this most distinguished Hero and Patriot.*

*With sentiments of respectful attachment,*

*I have the honor to be,*

SIR,

*Your faithful, and obedient servant,*

W. JACKSON.

# EULOGIUM.

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TO CONSECRATE the memory of illustrious men—to record their actions—and to celebrate their praise, has been the laudable practice of every age, and the grateful duty of every people.

The rudest nations have thus dispensed the rewards and the motives of virtue—while the arts and sciences of polished society have contributed their noblest efforts to this, their best, and highest application.

Conforming to this venerable usage, and influenced by all the nobler affections, the veteran associates of the immortal WASHINGTON have dedicated \*this auspicious day, to  
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\* GENERAL WASHINGTON was born on the 22d of February, 1732.



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the review of his glorious achievements, and the celebration of his unrivalled fame.

But their too partial choice has devolved on incompetent powers, the performance of that duty, to which the highest order of genius would have been unequal.

Who shall delineate a faithful portrait of that character, which was perfect in all its relations---or in what language shall the story of that life be told, whose every action was above all praise ?

To confer the just meed of eulogium on this inestimable character-----to entwine the blended glories of the Hero and the Statesman---with them to mingle the milder radiance of religion and morals, would require an inspiration, not only of those sentiments, which pervade every class of men in this extensive nation-----but of those opinions, which his unequalled worth has impressed throughout the world-----

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30 The sentiments and opinions of Legislators, to whose labors and honors he was associated by all that was useful and dignified.

Of armies, to whom he was endeared by every obligation of gratitude and glory.

Of a people, by whom he was regarded as their Father, Guide, and Protector.

Of the holy ministers of religion, by whom he was beloved and admired.

Of his enemies in war, by whom he was at once dreaded and revered.

Of the wise and just of all nations, of whom he was the ornament and the example.

In contemplating this appropriate subdivision of the panegyric, which I am called to pronounce, this most respectable audience will be led to indulge a candor, proportioned to the magnitude of the subject, and the powers of the organ, to whom the arduous duty has been confided.



The suffrages, perhaps the prejudices, of mankind, have concurred in assigning to the profession of arms, the first station in the ranks of glory.

On the present occasion, however, the decision is of no importance.

The Hero, whom we now commemorate, was alike pre-eminent in council, and in the field---The olive and the laurel had equally contributed their honors to form the chaplet of his renown.

It is only, therefore, in the order of his distinguished services, that our attention is first attracted to his military career.

Nor is it the less interesting, that the first display of his brilliant genius in war, should have been made in concert with the troops of that nation, whose banners he was hereafter to brave---and whose legions he was destined to encounter in the defence of his country, and in the maintenance of her freedom and independence.



Equally interesting is the singular fact, that a parent's fond solicitude had been the happy instrument of preserving him to that country, and to the high destination of his future honors ---for, impelled by the martial disposition of his mind, he was about to engage in the naval service of Great Britain at the infant age of fifteen years. But, ~~restrained~~ by filial affection, he yielded to the anxious entreaties of his mother, and relinquished the object of his choice.

Who does not bless the memory of this tender mother ! who does not reverence the piety of her exalted son !

Thus was the stupendous fabric of his fame placed on the everlasting basis of virtue --And thus were the immense advantages, which flowed to his country, derived from the purest source of a private duty.

Summoned to the lists of glory at an age, when talents are unaided by experience, and when the ardor of youth is but little tempered

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by the rules of prudence, he formed, in his first essay in arms, a rare example of the most heroic valor, combined with the most consummate skill.

The one was exerted to stem the torrent of victory obtained by a vindictive foe---The other was employed to rescue from ruin the devoted remnant of an unfortunate army.

Admiring veterans resigned to the youthful warrior the protection of their discomfited troops, and committed to his superior judgment the conduct of a retreat, which covered him with glory, and wreathed his brow with the laurel of success.

The brave, but unhappy Braddock expired in the anguish of defeat---the gallant, and sympathizing WASHINGTON was consoled by the safety, and honored with the applause of his surviving friends.

The high promise, which was here given of a vast capacity for war, was nobly realised in the command and guidance of those armies,



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by whose active valor and inflexible fortitude, the liberties and sovereignty of the United States were maintained and established.

In that eventful moment, when representation and remonstrance had been exhausted----when the alternative of resistance alone remained to an injured people--when every hazard was preferred to abject submission--and when that people had resolved to meet their Parent-state in arms----To whose care was the palladium of their liberties entrusted? On whom did the unanimous choice of their enlightened representatives, devolve the dangerous honor of conducting this last, this dread appeal?

To the virtue, the wisdom, the valor, and the fortitude, of your immortal WASHINGTON--to the Hero, who was at once the sword and buckler of his country, was the momentous trust confided.

To him was assigned the defence of our hearths and our altars---the protection of our



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women and children---and the preservation of all that was dear to freemen, Our National Honor.

How well, how faithfully, the sacred trust was discharged, let the splendid and important scenes of seven years conflict proclaim to an admiring world !

Impressed by a perfect sense of the high responsibility attached to his exalted station---and conscious of the pre-eminence in toil and danger, to which he was called, he yielded implicit obedience to the summons---and, resigning the utmost enjoyment of domestic felicity, he was solely devoted to those duties, which involved the safety and happiness of his country.

Repairing to the immediate theatre of military operation, in the vicinity of Boston, he instantly communicated, to the patriotic bands of New-England, that spirit of confidence, which was the result of his presence, and that obser-

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vance of order, which was essential to effective force.

The extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of a veteran army invested by the hasty levies of a people, whom it had been sent to coerce, and of that army indignantly expelled the land, which it had been commissioned to subdue.

This great event, which was to some the termination of their toil, and the period of their danger, was to him but the renewal of equal labors, the commencement of more anxious cares.

The invading army, strengthened by a vast accession of force, and supported by a powerful marine, resumed its operations---And, under leaders of distinguished bravery and talents, extended its menace to the entire subjugation of our country.

Success, correspondent to these immense preparations, was for a season obtained.

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The firm, but unavailing, efforts of our intrepid Chief were restrained to defensive measures. Yet the hopes of America were reposed on that skilful policy, which he adopted to protract the war---and on that consummate prudence, by which he gave to defence the highest advantages, of which it was susceptible.

The retreat from Long-Island, which excited the astonishment, and extorted the praise of his enemy, will pass to posterity as a consummation in the art of war.

While the victorious enterprize of Trenton, and the successful attack at Princeton, will be commemorated as the restoration of public confidence, and the rescue of our declining cause.

Where is the war-worn soldier, whose ebbing pulse does not beat high at these remembrances !



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Where is the emulous and gallant youth, who does not thence anticipate his own achievements in his country's cause !

Advancing to meet the incursion of a powerful army, he encountered their force at the Brandywine--where his gallant troops, though confident in the conduct, and animated by the example of their heroic leader, were compelled to resign, to discipline and numbers, the hard won honors of the field.

Repulsed, but not dismayed, he was soon in a capacity to resume the offensive---and deeply impressing the energies of his character, and displaying the vast resources of his mind, in the battle of Germantown, he unnerved the plans of subjugation, and invigorated the hopes of his country.

The movements of the main army of the enemy were arrested by the formidable position, which was occupied by our skilful Chief

---and their further attempts were limited to the partial operation of detachments.

In assaulting the intrenched post at Red Bank, the German auxiliary troops, led by the gallant Donop, were repulsed with dreadful slaughter, and their wounded leader was left a prisoner on the field.

The God-like WASHINGTON dispatched, from his camp, an officer to assure him of his personal concern, and to offer every attention, which his situation might require---He was even charged with the care of his removal, if it should be desired, within the British lines.

The profound sensibility of the hostile Chief was expressed in the following message.

“ Convey, sir, to General WASHINGTON,  
“ the deep impression of my gratitude---my  
“ situation admits not, at this time, of a per-  
“ sonal acknowledgement---but the first mo-  
“ ments of my recovery, should such be the

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“ will of Heaven, shall be devoted to place  
“ before him the homage of my heart.”

Where is the testimonial of equal impression with the praise of a dying enemy !

What powers of eulogy shall reach the pathos of such praise !

The British army, alarmed for its safety in an untenable position, prepared to concentrate its force, and to re-occupy the post of New-York.

The strenuous efforts of the American Chief to engage a battle, and to intercept their retreat, were rendered abortive by an error in the conduct of a subordinate attack, at the plains of Monmouth, which enabled the British General to accomplish his purpose.

Passing to the last scene of our military Drama, we are called to contemplate, on this great occasion, the vast and various powers, by which the Hero of our country was distinguished.



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Genius to conceive---wisdom to combine---prudence to conceal---judgment to direct---and valor to execute a plan of operations, the most important in its consequences, which the annals of war can furnish, were eminently exemplified in the whole train of measures, by which the investment and capture of the British army, at York-town, were formed and achieved.

The limits of this discourse do not admit a recital, which would include the varied incidents of the revolutionary war.

Compelled to abridge even the enumeration of events, I have only endeavored to give to the most prominent points of action, distinguished by the presence of our gallant Chief, such illustration as might mark the progress of the contest, and tend to designate the wisdom and vigor of that conduct, by which the operations of our armies were directed, and the hopes of our country were completely realised.

It is with regret, as it is of necessity, that I pass, in summary relation, the judicious in-

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structions issued to subordinate commands and detachments----the unremitting exertions, by which the organization and discipline of a new-formed army were effected--the anxious cares, by which that army was supplied--the sublime influence, by which it was continued in active service, through the rigor of the most inclement seasons, and under the pressure of discouragement, which the mind shudders to review.

On these topics, the delighted historian will dilate with increasing praise-----and instructed posterity will dwell with gratitude and pride.

At the approach of peace an occasion arose, in which the best faculties of his superior mind were summoned to their utmost exertion---and in which the sensibilities of his heart were to meet in strong collision with the dictates of his judgment, and a paramount sense of public duty.

That army, by whose unshaken fidelity, and invincible fortitude, the glory and fortunes



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of America had been upheld, in all the vicissitudes of the war, was on the eve of dispersion.

Those faithful comrades, in honor and misfortune, were to separate for ever, under the most afflicting circumstances of individual adversity.

To their country they had secured the blessings of peace, and the boon of Independence-----and to every class of their fellow-citizens a full participation in those blessings, enhanced by the enjoyment of that property, which, in their protected avocations, they had been enabled to preserve or to acquire.

To the disbanded veteran, in the decline of life, was opened the cheerless prospect of extreme penury, aggravated, in many instances, by wounds and inability to labour---His honor and his arms, "the instruments of his glory," were all that he possessed.

Maimed, and mutilated by honorable scars, he was become a stranger in the place of his nativity-----and he was no longer remembered



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by the companions of his early years-----His long-left home was in the occupancy of another, and his future abode was only certain to be wretched.

While oppressed by these sensations, and assailed by the angry passions, which their situation excited, the army were invited, by every consideration, which the most seductive persuasion could suggest, to redress their wrongs, and resent the alledged ingratitude of their country.

Argument and eloquence were exhausted to effect the adoption of this fatal advice.

To counteract the dangerous measure---to preserve inviolate the honor of his troops, and the safety of his country, the wisdom and firmness of the virtuous WASHINGTON were immediately interposed.

With his heart wrung by the sufferings of the army---with his mind deeply affected by the counsel, which had been offered to remedy

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their grievances---Conscious of their merits, and no less sensible to the inability of the country to fulfil its stipulations---he convened his officers---and presenting himself as mediator between the distresses of the troops, and the public incapacity, at that time, to relieve them---he addressed himself to their judgment, their honor, and their patriotism.

His opinions, framed on the irresistible conclusions of truth, and urged with all the force of reason and sentiment, were instantly adopted---and the sublime spectacle was exhibited of “an army, victorious over its enemy, victorious over itself.”

In the last exercise of his military functions, the social interests of his country engaged his benevolent attention, and a solicitude to promote her political prosperity, employed the reflections of his patriotic mind.

Addressing to the Executives of the several States an affectionate farewell, he unfolded to their view the matured lessons of experi-



ence, in a system of advice, eminently calculated to advance the happiness of their Constituents---and worthy to be transmitted, in indelible characters, to distant posterity.

Thus was the splendid structure of his military character completed----and thus was reared, to the glory of confederated America, an ever enduring monument of the purest patriotism, and the most important public services.

The rights of his country maintained---her independence acknowledged----the complaints of his meritorious, suffering army appeased---and his high trust, in all its relations, sacredly fulfilled, he appeared before the great Council of the nation, to claim the indulgence of retirement, and to resign the authority, with which he had been invested.

A more august scene has never been displayed--The triumph of virtue and freedom was complete---He retired, amid the blessings and applause of grateful millions, to the shade



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of private life, and to the enjoyment of that domestic felicity, from which, during eight years of anxiety, toil, and danger, he had been detained by an abstracted devotion to public duty.

However desirous to call your attention to the useful, the virtuous, and exemplary tenor of his private life.----Yet the rapid succession of public events, which scarcely permitted him to repose from the toils of war, obliges me to refer this interesting topic to a subsequent part of the discourse.

The voice of his country, to which he was ever obedient, was again raised to call him from his tranquil and happy retirement.

That frame of government, which in a period of danger, and under the pressure of foreign hostility had been sufficient to consolidate the interests, and to educe the resources of the United States, was found incompetent, in

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the relaxation of peace and fancied security, to control those objects of national concern, which were essential to the safety and happiness of the American people.

The fair prospect of our rising empire was obscured---the failure of our national engagements---the dissolution of our union---the consequent evils of rivalry---and the eventual horrors of war, were all impending.

The crisis was alarming beyond expression, and required an immediate interposition of the most patriotic exertions to avert the threatened calamities.

In the delegated wisdom and patriotism of the several States, the sage and virtuous WASHINGTON was again distinguished, and again pre-eminent.

Elected by an unanimous suffrage, to preside over those deliberations, on which the fate of a mighty nation, and the felicity of millions were suspended, the dignity of his character,



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and the influence of his example, gave, to the discussion of different interests, a spirit of conciliation, which resulted in the noblest concessions---and an impression of national deference, in which subordinate considerations were merged and extinguished.

Yes, my fellow citizens, to his accurate perception of our several interests, to his just construction of what was required to reconcile them---no less than to his skill and valor, in the day of battle, are we indebted for a large portion of our national harmony, and social happiness.

It is not in language to appreciate, with just estimation, the advantages, which, on this great emergency, were derived to his country, from the mild dignity of his manner, and the harmonising character of his deportment.

In them was personified that accommodation, which the crisis demanded, and which the



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great instrument of our national safety, most happily, proclaims in all its provisions.

On the adoption of this auspicious substitute to our imperfect confederation---when the voice of United America was to designate the most deserving citizen, to administer the important duties of the executive department---the choice was conformed to the gratitude of the nation, and to the high desert of her most beloved, and most respected Patriot.

The illustrious WASHINGTON was again the object of undivided esteem, and the depository of the public confidence.

To him, as to an unerring guide, were committed the difficult and delicate arrangements of a new-formed government, co-extensive with the limits, and embracing the various interests of "our wide-spreading empire."

Renouncing the pleasures and the elegancies of his chosen retreat, he consented to embark the rich treasure of his fame on an un-

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tried element---and, solely actuated by the will of his country, he resigned to her wishes the evening of that life, whose morn and meridian had been devoted to her service.

To trace the merits of his civil administration---to remark the judgment and impartiality, with which its most delicate duties were discharged---to observe the unwearied investigation, on which his judicious selection to office was grounded---to review those opinions, which were submitted, for co-operation, to the other branches of government---to notice the scrupulous delicacy, with which he abstained from encroachment on the province of their authority---while he maintained, with undeviating firmness, the powers which the constitution had exclusively assigned to the executive organ, would far exceed the limits of an eulogium.

They are classed in the highest order of precedents, and are most usefully referred to



the historical amplification of his instructive life.

The immediate effects of so much virtue, wisdom, and exertion, were obvious to the most superficial observer.

Under the auspices of that government, which the weight of his opinions had so largely contributed to frame, and to establish, and under the happy influence of such an administration of its provisions, the prosperity of our country was advanced beyond the most sanguine expectations of patriotism.

Hope and happiness were substituted to gloom and misfortune---and national respect succeeded to national degradation.

The labor of the husbandman, the industry of the mechanic, the enterprise of the merchant, were all protected and rewarded.

The surplus products of our soil were exchanged in profitable barter---the busy hum of men was again heard in our deserted harbours



—and the canvass of our commerce was spread to every gale.

The restoration of public credit gave confidence to private transaction—and the strict dispensation of justice silenced the last murmur of complaint.

It was no less honorable to the people of the United States, than to their illustrious benefactor, that the acknowledgement of his transcendent merits was the delightful theme of every class and condition.

Infancy was taught to lisp his praise—youth and manhood poured forth the effusions of their gratitude—and the blessings of age were expressed with the fervor of feeling, and the solemnity of religion.

States and individuals were emulous to confess his worth—He was the boast of our nation among strangers—and an object of veneration to every people.

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In this happy conjuncture of our affairs, the torch of war was lighted in Europe, and threatened to extend its flame to this favored portion of the globe.

To that guardian care, whose unceasing vigilance watched over us--To the Hero, whose protecting arm, in the hour of *inevitable* conflict, had borne aloft the conquering banner of our country, were we indebted for the preservation of peace, and an exemption from the distress and danger of foreign war.

Proclaiming to the people of the United States, and to the belligerent powers, the determination of our government to maintain an impartial neutrality, he continued, by an undeviating course of honorable policy, to ensure to his country the blessings of peace, and the benefits of the most advantageous position.

During the desolation of war her commerce was extended--and her redundant har-



vests administered to the wants of less favored nations;

On the revolution of his official term of service, an opportunity was afforded to express the public sense of his administration--and it was manifested in the most singular demonstration of gratitude and applause, that has ever been bestowed.

Having nominated, in the first instance, to all the offices of the general government--and having unavoidably disappointed the wishes of numerous expectants,--yet such had been the propriety of his appointments, and such the purity of his conduct, that, on the second election of chief magistrate, there was not found, among several millions of people, a single dissent from the choice of this immaculate man.

He was unanimously re-elected to preside over their political concerns, and to continue the blessings of his administration.



Among the multiplied advantages of that administration, the philanthropist will review, with peculiar pleasure, an invariable attention to conciliate the aboriginal inhabitants of our country, and an unremitting endeavour to ameliorate their hapless condition.

Regarding the interests of this unfortunate race as sacred, and viewing a compliance with their claims to protection as among the first duties of the government, his beneficent patronage was extended to every object, which might promote their welfare, or prevent the evils incident to their situation.

To the injunctions of public negotiation, he united the admonitions of personal sensibility, and the most benevolent concern for this unhappy people.

The astonished Savage beheld, in the far-famed Chief of an hostile nation, the Protector of his tribe, and the zealous friend of their happiness---His doubts of safety were changed

to admiring confidence—and the vindictive spirit of revenge was lost in a grateful sense of unexpected favor and kindness.

Having obtained, by treaty, a surrender of the military posts on our western frontier, he was enabled, in a great measure, to carry into effect the magnanimous policy, which he had instituted towards the Indian tribes—and to extend, at the same time, to the white inhabitants, in that quarter of the Union, the security of peace, and the benefits of a friendly intercourse with their immediate neighbours.

While intent on the completion of a general pacific system, in relation to the affairs of the United States, he was not insensible to the mutable policy of nations, nor inattentive to the necessary measures of military defence.

He believed it essential to the safety of our extensive commerce, and to the dignity of our national character, to enter on the forma-

beginning of a new system of policy—The doubts of early were changed



tion of a naval establishment, which he considered as the best, and the natural defence of the United States.

The sanction of his opinion was accordingly given to this important measure.

In reviewing the principal features of his public character, and their beneficial results, we are led no less to applaud the benevolence, than to admire the discernment, of his philanthropic and capacious mind.

With native, and acquired propensities to military glory---with every incentive to the exercise of arms, which consummate skill in war, or the hope of distinction could supply---peace was the ruling principle of his conduct, and the tranquil prosperity of his country was the dearest object of his ambition.

In the grateful belief that this anxious wish was accomplished, he intimated his intention to decline the honors of his high station, and to withdraw from all public employment.



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To this intimation, conveyed in an address to the People of the United States, was subjoined a series of opinions, on the subject of their public concerns, the legacy of an affectionate Father to a beloved family, containing the most instructive, interesting, and important advice that has ever been submitted to any nation.

An observance of those maxims would ensure our political welfare, and promote our social happiness---they are no less calculated to improve the heart than to inform the judgment---they should be committed to the memory of the young, and the meditation of the old---they are invaluable to the present generation---and they will be regarded by succeeding ages, as the best and highest eulogium of this transcendent character.

Yielding to his desire of repose, his grateful countrymen invoked the blessing of Hea-

ven on the close of his illustrious life, and acquiesced in his intention to retire.

Behold him returned to the station of a private citizen, enforcing, by correct example, those rules of conduct, which, with modest diffidence, he had offered to the consideration of his country.

Divested of every distinction, and without a personal attendant, he mingled in the throng of citizens, and was the first to express the homage of his esteem, which was respectful, affectionate, and sincere, at the inauguration of his successor-----to whom, no less than to the memory of the illustrious Dead, it is due to remark that, in their personal intercourse, and in all their official relations, the most cordial friendship, and beneficial harmony had uniformly subsisted.

To attest the perfection of public principle, it will be forever remembered that the distin-



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guished Patriot, who had so long, and so ably, presided in the concerns of the nation, consented to accept a secondary commission, at a period of life, when no consideration but the safety of his country, and complete confidence in the measures of her government, could have required, or prompted the service of the venerable Chief.

The sentiments of his judicious and comprehensive mind, as expressed in his own words, on this important occasion, are too honorable to his memory, too just in the application to his successor, and too interesting to our country, in their relation to future events, not to be here recited.

“ No one can more cordially approve of the  
“ wise and prudent measures of your admini-  
“ stration---They ought to inspire universal  
“ confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with  
“ the state of things, call from Congress such  
“ laws and means, as will enable you to meet  
“ the full force and extent of the crisis.



"Satisfied, therefore, that you have sin-  
 "cerely wished and endeavored to avert war,  
 "and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of  
 "reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts, ap-  
 "peal to Heaven, for the justice of our cause;  
 "and may confidently trust the final result to  
 "that kind Providence, who has, heretofore,  
 "and so often, signally favored the people of  
 "these United States.

"Thinking in this manner, and feeling  
 "how incumbent it is upon every person, of  
 "every description, to contribute at all times  
 "to his country's welfare, and especially in a  
 "moment, like the present, when every thing  
 "we hold dear and sacred, is so seriously  
 "threatened; I have finally determined to  
 "accept the commission of Commander in  
 "Chief of the armies of the United States\*."

\* GENERAL WASHINGTON's letter, dated Mount Ver-  
 rien, 13th July, 1798, to John Adams, President of the  
 United States.

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Such was the triumph of patriotism---and such the dignified completion of his public character.

With the accomplishments of the Hero, and the attributes of the Statesman, we are now to connect the interesting theme of domestic life, and the useful virtues of his private character.

Favored of Heaven, he was blest in the most endeared relation of human society----

The amiable, and much respected Partner of his happiness, enjoyed his affection and esteem, and was worthy to participate the honors of his exalted station.

The practice of his filial piety, which had been distinguished at an early age, was continued until the death of his surviving Parent, with unabated tenderness and respect.

His fraternal love was exemplary, as it was sincere---and the munificent provisions of his



will, attest the affection, which he bore to his kindred, and the relatives of his family.

Nor was this munificence bounded by the limits of consanguinity---The interests of Freedom and Science were anxiously consulted, and most generously advanced.

Age and infirmity were the objects of his kind regard---The instruction of youth was connected with the emancipation of the Bondsman-----as a mean of protecting his rights, and rendering him safe, and useful to Society.

The friend, and the stranger were received with cordial welcome at his hospitable mansion---and his beneficence to his neighbours was returned with the most affectionate attachment.

Combining, with a general patronage of science, and useful institutions, a particular attention to the improvements of agriculture, he diffused his observation and experience, in this



important pursuit, wherever they could be beneficial—extending his correspondence, on this interesting subject, to other nations.

Such were the outlines of his domestic life—and such were his private avocations.

Unable, on a careful review of eminent characters, to discover an apposite resemblance to the constellation of his virtues and talents, I forbear to enter on partial comparisons, which could not dignify, and would but imperfectly illustrate the Hero of our country.

Enriched by nature with her choicest gifts—She had, with equal liberality, bestowed upon him the greatest advantages of external form, and the highest degree of intellectual endowment---To the noble port of a lofty stature, were united uncommon grace, strength, and symmetry of person--And, to the commanding aspect of manly beauty, was given the benignant smile, which, inspiring confidence, created affection.

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In being thus minute, I do not mean to arraign your delighted remembrance of the Hero, which the short lapse of a fleeting year has not effaced.

Yet were mine the powers of description to produce a perfect image, I would present him to your enraptured imagination---As he was seen in battle, calm and collected-----As he appeared in council, dignified and serene---As he adorned society, gracious and condescending.

But, O mournful reflection! that pleasing, that venerable form, now moulders into dust---Sealed in death are those eyes, which watched over our safety---Closed forever are those lips, which spake peace and happiness to our country.

Yet the dark night of the tomb shall not obscure the lustre of his fame---and, when



brass and marble shall have fallen to decay,  
 the sweet remembrance of his virtues, passing  
 in proud transmission to remotest ages, shall  
 endure forever.

